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Friday, December 9, 1983

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Loopes dashed as stevedores hold out

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

FA — The stevedores here yesterday afternoon to carry their 12-day-old go-slow strike their Ashdod colleagues. Their surprise decision was taken in a mass meeting, following a decision by the Ashdod men in the morning. The Ashdod port committee had pleaded with Haifa colleagues not to join them in their fight, and the men acquiesced in this ap-

pe Haifa committee had earlier decided to accept the Port Authority's terms for wage rises in return for increasing output, and the morning persuading its members to accept this settlement. The go-slow came as a great disappointment to shipping circles. The men in both ports say they continue to defy the labour orders to resume full work. The Port Authority used its strategy on Haifa as a threat, and thus isolating its terms, and thus isolating its terms. The men in the two ports have been in a go-slow since the 27th. There are 37 freighters in the two harbours, 13 of them out of the breakwaters waiting their losses to ship-owners, insurers and exporters are escalating by the hour. Haifa stevedores had been

amenable to the Port Authority's conditions for higher norms and smaller working gangs in return for higher wages, as it would have made only about 10 per cent of the 600 stevedores in the port redundant. Most of these would have been men with 30 or more years of service, meaning early retirement benefits that would have softened the loss of their jobs.

In Ashdod, however, the efficiency plan would have made as many as 300 of the 800 stevedores redundant, because the more militant Ashdod stevedores had resisted such efficiency measures for the past decade. Moreover, the average age in the younger Ashdod port is considerably lower, and the men facing dismissal would need new jobs to augment their smaller pension benefits. Because of this, the Ashdod Labour Council is backing their tougher stand. It also does not want dozens of unemployed men on its hands.

Macabee Dean adds:
The Citrus Marketing Board decided to distribute between 150 and 200 tons of fruit to schoolchildren in development towns. The board said that since the citrus is not being loaded fast enough, it would either rot or have to be destroyed.

The first delivery will leave (Continued on Page 17)



Persimmons destined for export were dumped near Netanya yesterday because of a go-slow at Ashdod and Haifa ports.

Levy may have hurt his own chances

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

If Deputy Prime Minister David Levy had any chance of being appointed foreign minister, that chance has now been greatly reduced by Levy's own public conduct. This was the assessment of informed sources last night, following Levy's public assertion that Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's "credibility and collegiality" were at stake if he did not appoint him foreign minister. (News background, page 2).

Shamir and Levy are expected to meet alone this morning to discuss — and presumably attempt to ease — the now open feud between them.

Yesterday, Shamir held a special consultation of Herut ministers which Levy declined to attend. The Herut Party secretariat decided last night to hold a special

meeting next week with all Herut cabinet ministers participating to discuss the situation that has been created by Levy's bid for the foreign affairs portfolio.

Some political observers felt that Levy himself had concluded he had no chance of being named foreign minister and thus he had nothing to lose from attacking the premier in public.

But there was much speculation as to what Levy hoped to gain from the attack.

Levy's attack came in an impromptu press conference with newsmen in his hometown, Beit Shean, on Wednesday night. (It was reported in yesterday's *Jerusalem Post*.) He reiterated his claim that he had reached "an understanding" with the premier about the foreign affairs portfolio, and railed against "those purporting to be 'sources'" (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Patience of MNF states is limited

BRUSSELS (AP) — The U.S. and its three partners in the multinational peace-keeping force yesterday expressed their determination to remain in Lebanon. But there were suggestions their patience could run out if solutions to Lebanon's problems do not emerge soon.

"I'm sure there are the realities of the patience of various publics," said a U.S. spokesman. A British source restated his country's position that its commitment is not open-ended.

Secretary of State George Shultz held a breakfast meeting in his hotel suite with the foreign ministers of Britain, France and Italy — the nations that have contributed troops to the multinational peace-keeping force.

The U.S. spokesman said the four ministers were agreed on the urgent need for efforts at national reconciliation in Lebanon to succeed. The Reagan administration is pushing Lebanese President Amin Jemayel to do more to bring dissident factions into the government and to extend its authority over more of the country, he said.

Jemayel is to visit London next Tuesday for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

(Pressure on Reagan — P. 2, Col. 2)

UN adamant on giving Arafat its protection

Rejects Israel's appeal

By DAVID LANDAU
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar yesterday rejected a request by Israel that it withdraw the permission it has given Palestinian terrorists to leave Tripoli under the symbolic protection of the UN flag.

In a statement, quoted by Reuters he said the authorization, approved unanimously by the Security Council last Saturday, was given on "purely humanitarian grounds."

In a letter to Perez de Cuellar, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir cited the PLO's assumption of responsibility for Tuesday's bus-bomb in Jerusalem, in which four persons died and dozens were wounded. "It is inconceivable," Shamir wrote, that the UN should help Arafat and his men depart Tripoli.

There was no hint in the letter of whether Israel proposed to act independently to prevent Arafat's departure — as two cabinet ministers have proposed.

But well-placed sources consider this most unlikely.

These sources said last night the cabinet had yet to take a formal decision on whether Israel should act. Earlier in the day, when asked about proposals by Ministers Ariel Sharon and Yitzhak Moda'i that Israel move against Arafat in Tripoli, Shamir said "all proposals" would be considered.

Moda'i, at last Sunday's cabinet, suggested that Israel capture Arafat before he can embark.

Sharon, in media interviews, has said it would be a "grave mistake" for Israel to allow the PLO chief to escape from Tripoli alive.

Shamir's letter read:

"On Tuesday, December 6, the terrorist organization known as PLO, which is headed by Yasser Arafat, assumed responsibility for the explosion in a bus in Jerusalem.

This barbarous act was perpetrated against passengers on a regular city bus and was clearly aimed to kill the maximal number of Jews — women and children.

Four persons were killed in the outrage, Yehuda Kaplan, aged 77, Lasho Danksy, aged 50, and two girls, Esther Adi, 11, and Nurit Poljack, 14.

There were 43 wounded of whom 10 are still in critical condition, among them Nurit Poljack's sister.

In light of this horrendous crime perpetrated by the PLO terrorists, it is inconceivable that the UN, which is dedicated to the preservation of human life and the enhancement of peace, should provide them with any assistance or facilities whatsoever.

Accordingly I request you to cancel the arrangements that have been made to give them safe conduct under the UN flag."

Reuters quotes Arafat's spokesman as saying in Tripoli that France and Greece have agreed to provide warships to escort the terrorist leader and his men.

The PLO asked for the military escort on Wednesday because of fears that the Israeli Navy would intercept the four Greek ships evacuating them.

Spokesman Ahmed Abdel-Rahman told reporters that the PLO had also asked Italy to send warships, but had not yet received a formal reply.

The evacuation is due to take place within 13 days under an agreement between Arafat and Syrian-backed rebels within the PLO who advanced to the edges of Tripoli in heavy fighting last month.

The spokesman said the first of six Greek ships, four passenger liners and two cargo ships to carry weapons, would arrive in Tripoli port tonight.

In Athens, however, a Greek Merchant Marine Ministry spokesman denied any had yet set sail. The ministry was still considering tenders from shipping companies, he said.

Maccabi TA beaten

Maccabi Tel Aviv were beaten 74-65 by Cantu last night in their opening match in the European Basketball Cup. (See page 4)

Prices rise on basic foods

Post Economic Reporter

Prices of up to 25 per cent on basic commodities were raised at midnight by the Ministry in its continuing campaign to ease out subsidies.

Prices of standard bread, eggs, products and nos. 1 and 2 chickens were raised by 15 per cent. The price of the no. 3 was raised by 10 per cent. The price of white bread was raised by 20 per cent, and cooking oil by 25 per cent.

The price of margarine was raised by 23 per cent, meaning that its subsidy was eliminated entirely. Frozen meat has not been subsidized for some time, but the Treasury increased its price by 25 per cent to encourage consumption of local meat.

The Treasury estimates that as a result of these measures, the consumer price index will go up by 1.5 per cent for December.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Plans to New York

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci is to receive an honorary doctorate from a University in New York on Monday. So far, he has not been in Washington.

There is no one here is ruling out that possibility, given the need to maintain high-level contacts between Washington and Jerusalem in the face of the tense situation in the region.

Carlucci has still not named its joint U.S.-Israeli joint military group which is slated to formally discuss cooperation during its first visit in early January.

U.S. chairman is Admiral Arthur C. Garry, the director of the Department's political/military bureau. But unlike the Israel is expected to select a Ministry official — possibly Director-General Aluf (res) Meron — to be Israel's delegate.

Slide in Lebanon

IT (Reuters) — Four people and 25 were missing after a landslide swept over a number of villages in Lebanon yesterday, security sources said.

King Solomon and the Carpet Lady

Wednesday, LIFE STYLE vers an attempt to recreate the life of King Solomon in days of leisure, that is, not out of the city but by crossing, to achieve the real

LIFE STYLE trots right to visit Mazal the Carpet makes a left, and rambles all gallop to the Golan its the Golan, the most sting job is said to be that he civilian defence instructor. The man who does claims that he loves his as reported in A Day in

LIFE STYLE Focus is on Mrs. From shopping for the apartment to furnishing decorating the one you truly choose, your home acts the energy and nation you invest in it.

Dr. Elia writes on hitch-hiking and its dangers. Stamps. Cartoons by Ben, and the awfully funny Nevsky — FREE with Wednesday's Jerusalem

life style

Girl shot dead in Nablus street

By DAVID RICHARDSON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

An 11-year-old girl, Aisha Adnan el-Baash was shot dead and her nine-year-old sister, Fida, was wounded in the mouth when as yet unidentified people opened fire in the metal workers' section of Nablus late yesterday afternoon.

Police and security forces set up roadblocks south of Nablus and were searching for a red Citroen with an Israeli licence plate which, according to one version of events, was seen speeding away from the area.

The shooting coincided with a large-scale security forces raid on the office of the local trade union federation which is adjacent to the street where the girls were shot.

Local sources reported that the presence of the large number of soldiers sparked off a demonstration and rock-throwing. This spilled over into the metal workers' section, and it was then that the shooting occurred.

Senior military sources on the scene said last night that their initial investigation indicated that no members of the security forces were involved in the shooting. The search of the trade union offices was conducted following a grenade attack on a border police patrol in the centre of Nablus earlier this week, they said.

Soon after the shooting incident a resident of the settlement of Bracha was stoned as he drove through the outskirts of Nablus. The windshield

of his vehicle was smashed but he was not injured.

A bus carrying residents of the town of Kiryat Arba home after work in Jerusalem was stoned as it passed the Dehaishe refugee camp yesterday. The bus stopped and the passengers tried to catch the rock-throwers but were unsuccessful.

Rock-throwing was also reported from El-Bira when youths demonstrated against the presence of the head of the West Bank civil administration Tat-Aluf Shlomo Ily, who was in the town to open a new school. Border Police used teargas to disperse the demonstrators.

Meanwhile settlers dismantled a "control centre" they had set up. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Trade deficit increased 40% last month

Post Economic Reporter

Israel's deficit in its goods trade with other countries continued to increase during November, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday. Last month the trade deficit was \$417 million, some 40 per cent more than the previous month. Since the beginning of the year, the trade gap has totalled some \$3.3 billion as compared with \$2.8b. from through January, November, 1982. This represents an 18 per cent increase.

The bureau's figures showed that the deterioration in the trade figures was caused by a decrease in exports by some 2.6 per cent since January, and a 5.5 per cent increase in imports during the same period. Imports during November were twice as large as exports. Israel imported goods worth some \$820m. and exported \$401m. in merchandise last month.

Despite the hopes for a reduction in imports raised by Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad, the statistics revealed that imports had in fact increased by some 25 per

cent in November compared with October.

The large trade gap increase registered since the beginning of the year has been largely moderated by a drop in the imports of fuel by some \$300m. since January.

Government officials said yesterday the drop in oil imports was the result of the decrease in international prices as well as a reduction in the quantities imported.

The officials added that the reduction in fuel imports stemmed from former finance minister Yoram Aridor's desire to show "better trade figures." They said this had caused a dangerous drop in oil reserves and now these need replenishing.

This fact has forced Israel to increase its imports of fuel during the two last months, said the officials, adding it is probable these purchases were responsible for the marked increase in imports registered last month, despite October's large devaluation.

Big jolt, computer failures delay Columbia's landing

HOUSTON (AP) — A massive jolt followed by failure of a computer and of a key navigation instrument forced the six men of the Columbia space shuttle to delay their return to Earth for hours yesterday while engineers in mission control analyzed the problems.

The astronauts were in no immediate danger and there were spare computers and instruments on board but NASA officials said they wanted to understand the problem before committing Columbia to a landing at Edwards Air Force Base, California.

Mission Commander John Young reported the problems started with a powerful jolt as he was preparing to return to Earth with his five crewmates, pilot Brewster Shaw, and scientists Owen Garriott, Bob Parker, Ulf Merbold and Byron Lichtenberg.

"I really hit the vehicle hard," said the veteran astronaut. "It was really an impact type of thing, probably as high magnitude as we've seen around here in a long time."

Two computers failed in rapid succession, but Young and Shaw were able to restore one of them. The second was declared failed and turned off, leaving Columbia with four working on-board computers.

A few hours later, Shaw reported that the inertial measuring unit, a device that provides key navigational information, suddenly went bad.

"When it went, it went fast," Shaw said. He tried to restore it, but reported: "No joy."

Mission control looked at data from the instrument and told the crew: "We think the IMU has failed. Go ahead and turn it off." Columbia has two other IMUs on board and only one is needed for landing.

The on-board computers control wing flaps, rocket thrusting and guidance as the spacecraft returns to Earth. The computers also send displays to screens in the cockpit, feeding a constant stream of information to Young and Shaw as they guide the craft toward landing.

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The weather at major Swissair destinations

8.12.1983	MIN.	MAX.	Cloud
AMSTERDAM	3	27	48
BRUSSELS	5	41	43
BUEENOS AIRES	19	66	84
CHICAGO	10	14	35
COPENHAGEN	2	20	38
FRANKFURT	8	18	48
GENEVA	3	27	120
HELSINKI	-5	23	51
HONG KONG	18	22	72
JERUSALEM	14	57	88
LOS ANGELES	5	41	10
LONDON	5	11	52
MADRID	-3	27	48
MONTREAL	-18	12	10
NEW YORK	-2	26	41
OSLO	-4	20	38
PARIS	-1	20	43
RIO DE JANEIRO	15	35	30
SAO PAULO	15	35	30
STOCKHOLM	-2	28	38
TOKYO	8	43	14
TORONTO	-18	12	5
VIENNA	0	32	37
ZURICH	5	23	51

* For the latest weather conditions, consult Swissair.

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy, local rain.
Outlook for Shabbat: Partly cloudy.

Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	59	7-16
Golan	54	7-16
Nahariya	64	-22
Safed	75	15-21
Haifa Port	62	16-21
Tiberias	65	11-20
Nazareth	66	11-19
Alula	57	7-22
Shomron	47	9-18
Tel Aviv	57	12-20
A-G Airport	56	12-20
Jericho	39	11-21
Gaza	62	11-21
Beersheba	74	14-20
Eilat	56	10-19

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Connie Lih-Jin de Gereda Asturias, wife of the ambassador of Guatemala, gave a tea party recently for the wives of the chiefs of the diplomatic missions in Israel to inform them of the activities of the Variety Club of Israel.

The Morian Conservative (Mesorati) congregation of Haifa has installed Rabbi Chaim Thaler as its new rabbi.

Hugh Chance, of the Bah'i World Centre, will speak (in English) on "The Bah'is in Khmei's Iraq" at the Haifa Maritime and Economics Club, Zion Hotel, at 1 p.m. today. Table reservations by phone 529818.

Harry Hurwitz, adviser to the prime minister, will speak on "The Propaganda Battle in the U.S." at Mosdon Haoleh, 9 Rehov Alkai, Jerusalem at 8.30 p.m. on Monday, under the auspices of the South African Zionist Federation, Jerusalem branch. The public is invited.

Prize to Herzog

Jerusalem Post Correspondent LONDON. — The annual H.H. Wingate prize for Jewish literature was awarded here last night jointly to President Chaim Herzog for his *The Arab-Israeli Wars* and to Chaim Raphael for his *The Springs of Jewish Life*.

PRICES UP

(Continued from Page One)

	Old Price	New Price
standard bread	11.1	12.8
halva	19	24.7
cooking oil (litre)	78.50	98.50
margarine (200 gr)	18.8	19.7
milk (litre)	30.8	35.7
cottage cheese	34	39.8
butter	25	28.8
beef	11.9	13.4
eggs (no.1)	7.4	8.5
eggs (no.3)	6.8	7.8
frozen chicken (nos. 1 & 2)	209	240
frozen chicken (no. 3)	150	165
frozen meat ground	382	470
beef ribs	356	438
brisket	317	390
shoulder	421	518

GIRL SHOT DEAD

(Continued from Page One)

Established adjacent to Joseph's tomb in Nablus in order to pressure the government to adopt more drastic measures to curb unrest and rock-throwing in the area. The settlers said that they were giving the government a month to prove that the promises the settlers had been given would be implemented.

HOME NEWS

NEWS BACKGROUND/Asher Wallfish

Levy's demand is exercise in brinkmanship

The absence of Deputy Prime Minister and Housing Minister David Levy from the consultation between Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and a few top Herut ministers yesterday morning is the latest manifestation of the agitation within the country's ruling political party concerning the pecking order.

We are not witnessing turmoil presaging a split, such as the Labour movement suffered in the past, nor the departure of a political figure into the wilderness, in the way that former defence minister Ezer Weizman picked up and left public life.

What we are seeing is an exercise in brinkmanship between Levy on the one hand, and all the other seven Herut ministers on the other. This brinkmanship, like most political brinkmanship, will most probably find a settlement which both sides can live with, however uncomfortable it may seem to them.

But because Levy feels disadvantaged, cheated, and crowded by odds of seven to one, his irritation and (some say) his inordinate sensitivity may prompt him to go too far in fencing with seven opponents. He could conceivably pass the point of no return, which spells political death.

The issue is Levy's demand to be given the Foreign Ministry portfolio which Shamir continues to hold as prime minister. Some of Levy's followers say the deputy premier got "a promise" from Shamir, but Levy himself says he got "an understanding" from Shamir about the portfolio. Now Levy says he wants a definite "yes" or "no."

The foreign ministry is a substantial portfolio, but its value is symbolic as well. Levy wants it because it's the only prestigious job standing empty just now, where the premiership, defence and finance are filled. However impressive it sounds to be a deputy premier, as Levy is, it carries no power and it commands no patronage. No wonder the glittering title of deputy premier lost its sparkle in Levy's eyes when Shamir, away in Washington, did not even bother to make him privy by phone or cable to a handful of state secrets.

Levy is asking for the foreign ministry because he needs to prove to himself that the 40

per cent support he collected at the Herut Party Central Committee, which gave Shamir 60 per cent support and the premiership, has real meaning. He wants it translated into patronage, a national image and a permanent entry into the highest councils in the land.

The other seven Herut ministers want to prove just the opposite. They want to keep Levy in his place. They want to show him (if they can, though perhaps they cannot) that the support he mustered at the Herut Central Committee a few months ago was a flash-in-the-pan. They want to signal to him that Begin's departure, and the subsequent reshuffle within the leadership, has not established a permanent new pecking order, and that Levy is still a grade-B cabinet minister.

Levy is irritated beyond all measure, battling against such enormous odds. He has far more than pulled his own weight at election times, having proven to be Herut's biggest vote-catcher after Menachem Begin. Now, with Begin gone, he knows how much his party, and the Likud bloc, need him.

Levy is also irritated because he believes the 40:60 per cent ratio in the Herut Central Committee showed that it took seven cabinet ministers pulling together to mobilize Shamir's 60 per cent support. That may sound like oversimplification to some, but not to David Levy.

The other seven Herut ministers feel themselves threatened by Levy's popularity. They regard him as too big for his boots already. So they are reluctant to see him get the foreign ministry as a prize for his new stardom.

David Levy also resents the emergence of a troika at the head of Herut and at the head of the government: Shamir, Defence Minister Moshe Arens and Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad. He and other Herut politicians believe that Shamir has shaped this "kitchen cabinet" around himself, which Levy admits sometimes but not always. It appears to him that matters are brought to the cabinet after having been "cooked" beforehand by Shamir, Arens and Cohen-Orad.

Levy does not object to the existence of the "kitchen cabinet" system, made famous by the

late prime minister Golda Meir. What he wants is to be a member of it, in his own right.

Shamir is thought to be very satisfied with the troika which he heads. All three of them are comparable, in their hawkish outlooks. All three of them got their jobs more because of their capacities, then because of support for them in the party machinery or the party branches. All three are introspective and unemotional. None is the sort of politician who looks at himself each morning in the mirror and asks whether he is gaining ground or slipping.

Shamir does not feel inclined to expand the troika, and let a fourth man in who worries about his public image. It does not make for tranquil, smooth government.

Shamir also does not want populists or politicians whose ambitions are always showing to be too close to him. He would certainly not want to see Levy succeeding him one day, but rather Arens, who is 13 years older than Levy, the "baby" among the Herut ministers, at 45.

The fact that Levy talks a politically dovish language is not the reason why the other seven Herut ministers have ganged up against him. He has set his sights on getting the premiership, sooner or later. Since his potential rivals talk a hawkish language, he has to establish a contrary image. If Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon for any reason were suddenly to change into a superdove, Levy would turn into a superhawk.

Levy's seven opponents want to keep him in his place because his political style is not in harmony with the traditions of the "fighting family" (as the inner core of Herut veterans is called) any more than is the political style of Sharon. With all their awareness of Levy's value to the party, they want him to wait his turn and not jump the queue.

Levy's problem is that he does not want to wait another 10 years until both Shamir and Arens have had their turn at the tiller. He believes, moreover, that political advancement should not depend on age, seniority or membership in the Irgun Zvai Leumi underground which dissolved when he was only 10 years old.

LEVY'S CHANCES

(Continued from Page One)

close to Shamir, who were spreading hostile stories about him in the media and intimating that he would not get the post.

Levy, in effect, challenged Shamir to disavow these nameless "sources" and to give him the portfolio; otherwise, he would "draw the appropriate conclusions."

The prime minister is understood to have been deeply angered by Levy's recourse to the media for the second time in one week. Last Friday, just hours before Shamir returned home from the U.S., Israeli Radio reported that Levy was annoyed at not having been sent cable reports of the talks with President Ronald Reagan during the week. Shamir upbraided him for this at the cabinet on Sunday.

Indeed, that upbraiding was interpreted by some political observers — and possibly by Levy himself — as a signal that Shamir did not intend to make Levy foreign minister. These observers noted that the premier, who is also foreign minister, had pointedly not named Levy acting foreign minister, as well as acting premier, while he (Shamir) was in Washington.

Shamir has never confirmed Levy's repeated claim that there is an "understanding" between them over the Foreign Ministry. He has certainly never acknowledged an outright commitment on his part to name Levy to the post.

Yet, one of Levy's foremost political supporters, Michael Kleiner MK (Likud-Herut), asserted in a radio interview yesterday that the premier's commitment had been made "unequivocally."

He said it had been made in a co-ordination between the two men immediately after their contest in the Herut Central Committee over the premiership in September, following Menachem Begin's resignation.

As regards Levy's "going public" and the embarrassment this had caused to the party and government, Kleiner said it was far more honourable to speak out openly than through anonymous "sources."

At the Herut ministers' meeting yesterday, according to informed sources, Shamir won a staunch show of support. The ministers are understood to have shared the premier's view that Levy had hurt the party by his behaviour. (Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon was not present since he is abroad.)

The informed sources said Levy was asked to attend the meeting, but despite several telephoned invitations he preferred to stay away.

Opinions were divided among political observers as to Levy's motives. Some felt he actually seeks to precipitate early elections, calculating that his political strength can only decline in the present situation. These observers believe that an outright rebellion by Levy could bring the government down.

Another view was that Levy, known to be extremely sensitive, acted impetuously in the face of extensive media hints, apparently emanating from the prime minister's immediate circle, that he would not be given the Foreign Ministry post.

Special security teams to search buses in TA

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Teams of police sappers, members of Hiba (women doing military service in police forces) and Hagat have been established to carry out selective checks of city buses and bus stops here.

The special teams will guard against acts of terrorism and will in-

struct drivers and passengers on the subject.

Tel Aviv district police commander Nitzav Avraham Turgenman urged the public yesterday to increase its vigilance against suspicious people and objects and to summon the police immediately when in doubt.

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Programme in Hebrew

The unveiling of the tombstone of our beloved

HERSH (ZVI) STISKIN ז"ל

will take place at the end of Shilshim on Sunday, December 11 at 4:00 p.m. at the Segula, Petah Tikva Cemetery.

There will be a Memorial Lecture on December 11 at 7:30 p.m. at the Young Israel of Kfar Ganim, Petah Tikva.

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Former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance (left), his wife Grace and Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kolek pause for sweet refreshments yesterday during a tour of the Old City and East Jerusalem. After the tour, Vance left for a three-day visit to Jordan. (Dayan Centre lecture — page 9)

Universities' representative accuses Orgad of 'blackmail'

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The head of the university co-ordinating committee, legal expert Prof. Yoram Dinstein, has accused the Treasury of blackmailing the universities by refusing to release funds unless they agree to a massive budget cut.

Dinstein, rector of Tel Aviv University, said in an interview yesterday that "Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad is practising blackmail. He is holding up IS4.5 billion owed to us in this year's budget until we agree to cut our budget by 8 per cent for next year. This is blackmail."

Earlier this week, the heads of the universities rejected the Treasury demand and re-affirmed their earlier decision to close their doors next Tuesday due to mounting deficits.

Dinstein said that an injection of IS2b. now would enable the universities to stay open. "But once they close, it will take at least twice that

amount to get them open again, because suppliers will have to be paid before they resume services."

He said that since last week the heads of the universities have requested an urgent meeting with Prime Minister Shamir to seek his intervention but have not received a reply.

The head of the prime minister's bureau, Yehiel Kadishai, said yesterday that a meeting among Shamir, the universities and the Treasury would be scheduled for next week. The heads of the universities are due to meet again on Sunday to discuss the situation.

The Treasury spokesman said that the funds for this year have not been released because the universities did not implement the cuts they were supposed to make in last year's budget (1982/83). As for the "blackmail" charge, the spokesman said that "it is not our practice to descend to this level of argument in the media."

Tora Guardians join Kolek's coalition

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Sephardi Tora Guardians, the surprise of the municipal elections in Jerusalem in October, yesterday joined a coalition with Mayor Teddy Kolek's One Jerusalem list.

The addition of the three STG members brings Kolek's coalition to 21 council members. There are 31 seats on the council.

Municipal sources said yesterday that the council members from Pofajei Agudat Yisrael will also

probably join the One Jerusalem coalition soon. This will mean that Agudat Yisrael, with its three members, will be isolated from the other religious members. The Aguda has nevertheless promised to be a fighting opposition.

Rabbi Ze'ev Nissim, head of the STG, will get a deputy mayorship and will be given the family and community portfolio. The No. 2 man on the STG list, Rabbi Ya'acov Yosef, will be appointed to the municipal executive board.

Civil servants to start sanctions on Sunday

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The public will not be received in any government office on Sunday and Monday, the Civil Servants Union confirmed yesterday.

The step, which is in response to the Finance Ministry's decision to cut overtime pay and travel allowances, was decided on last week. Reuven Ben-Ami, head of the union, met with Finance Minister

Yigal Cohen-Orad last week on the issue, but said afterwards that the finance minister could not be budged.

Ministry of Communications workers have announced that starting Sunday, no telephones will be repaired.

The Civil Servants Union is to meet next week to discuss intensifying pressure on the government.

Likud sued for IS3.5m. for not paying bills

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A IS3.5 million suit has been filed against the Likud central committee, the Ramat Gan branch of the Likud Party and the Likud elections committee by the Beotai Insurance-International company for non-payment for services rendered dur-

ing the last municipal elections. The defence brief has not yet been filed with the Tel Aviv District Court.

The insurance company claims that the three bodies have refused to pay their bills for "lack of funds."

Chamber music series

TEL AVIV. — A series of monthly Friday night chamber music concerts will be inaugurated this evening at the ZOA House here at 9.30 p.m.

CARS. — About 1,700 cars in Jerusalem and Nazareth have been impounded because their owners have not made payments to the National Insurance Institute.

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Mark and Anushka Weinberg and children, England.

The funeral will take place on Friday, 9th December, 1983 at the Herzliya Cemetery at 1.00 p.m.

Teachers call strike for 2 hours on Monday

By LEA LEVAVI
The Histadrut teachers' union yesterday decided to call a two-hour strike on Monday in protest against Education Ministry instructions not to substitute during the first three days of a teacher's absence. The union also declared a labour strike over this issue. It will take further action at the end of the mandatory 15-day cooling-off period if the ministry does not change its instructions by then.

Union secretary-general Amnon Abramson said the instructions endanger children because classes where teachers are absent will lack proper supervision.

The Secondary School Teachers Association is not taking any action at the moment, but has ordered its members not to serve as substitutes unless payment is guaranteed. High schools are usually run by municipalities or other organizations, some of them, such as the Tel Aviv municipality, have said they will continue to pay substitutes from the first day of the teacher's absence.

However, since the ministry will not reimburse them, it is not known if, or for how long, this policy can continue. The high-school teachers will wait and see how the ministry's instructions work in practice.



A vervet monkey born a month ago in the Jerusalem Biblical Zoo is being raised by the zoo's keepers, who feed him formula from a bottle.

Siamese twins born in Afula

By DAVID RUDGE
MENAHEM HOROWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter
A woman gave birth to Siamese twins in Afula yesterday, the sickly spokeswoman reported.

The twins are joined between the part of the chest and the abdomen, over 20 centimetres, and weighed altogether 23.8 kilograms.

They are in the premature baby intensive care unit and their condition yesterday was described as stable.

One in every 50,000 births produces Siamese twins.

The spokeswoman said the mother, a member of a kibbutz in the Beit Shean Valley, was well.

Teachers colleges get reprieve until next year

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter
No teachers colleges will be closed during this school year, representatives of the Histadrut Teachers' Union and the Education Ministry decided at a meeting yesterday.

The Breine College will be merged with the Ephraim College in Jerusalem and the Religious Music Teachers College in Petah Tikva will be merged with the Talpiot College in Tel Aviv.

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Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir cheers up, or is cheered by, 17-year-old Yossi Shorer, of Kiryat Hayovel, one of the casualties in Tuesday's terrorist bombing of a bus in Jerusalem in which two children and two men were killed. The visit took place yesterday at Shaare Zedek hospital, where 19 of the wounded are still being treated. A further nine are at Hadassah, Ein Kerem. No change was reported yesterday in the condition of any of the victims. Yesterday, the police released the last four detained suspects. (Rahamin Israeli)

Na'amat opposes MK's bill to lower marriage age to 16

Jerusalem Post Reporter
TEL AVIV. — MK Meir Cohen-Avidov's proposal to lower the minimum marriageable age for girls to 16 is not appropriate to a modern and enlightened country, Na'amat secretary-general Masha Lubelsky yesterday wrote to Justice Minister Moshe Nissim.

In 1950, the late MK Ada Maimon brought about the passage of the current law setting the minimum marriageable age for girls at 17. This was a compromise between Maimon's belief that the age should be 18, and the Orthodox camp's demand that it be 16.

Lubelsky said lowering the age to 16 would be a shameful step backwards.

Cohen-Avidov contends that 16-year-old girls today are more ready for marriage than were girls of that age in previous generations, because of their greater knowledge about sex and increased sexual freedom. However, Lubelsky said no professional (doctor, psychologist, sociologist or social worker) would accept that view.

Lubelsky said child marriages are dangerous because girls (either under pressure from their parents, or who run away from unhappy home situations) could enter hastily into marriages which can later be dissolved only by divorce. While in other countries child marriages (when performed in spite of the laws preventing them) can easily be annulled, such marriages when performed by a rabbi here are legal and require divorce.

Na'amat has had experience in its legal aid bureaus with cases in which criminals marry young girls in the hope that the marriage will help them get lighter sentences.

Later, when the girl discovers she is married to a criminal, she needs a divorce to extricate herself, and only the husband can give or withhold that divorce, Lubelsky said.

Lubelsky urged the minister to block Cohen-Avidov's private bill.

TV reporter testifies in Arlosoroff probe

TEL AVIV. — Israel Television reporter Haim Gil was recalled yesterday to testify before the commission investigating the murder of Yitzhak Arlosoroff, a Labour movement leader. Gil was asked to clarify for the commission certain points in the testimony of Israel Yardeni, 80, of Ra'anana, who had told the commission he had been picked by Revisionist leaders to kill Arlosoroff. (The Revisionist movement was one of the predecessors of today's Herut Party.)

Several years ago, Gil did a TV story on Yardeni. When interviewed for that programme, Yardeni told Gil he had refused to kill Arlosoroff, Gil said.

Asked by Prof. Eliezer Berkovitz, a commission member, how Yardeni's statement during that programme differed from what he had told the commission, Gil said that the difference was substantial. To the commission, Yardeni had said he had been told to kill the Labour leader. But to Gil, Yardeni had said that he had understood that he was expected to carry out the killing, although he had not been told to do so in so many words.

Two more witnesses will appear on Sunday to give evidence concerning Yardeni's testimony. It will be given behind closed doors at their request.

Writer held, denies pimping allegations

TEL AVIV (Itim). — The crime reporter for the weekly newspaper *Ha'olam Haze* was remanded for 14 days by the magistrates court here yesterday on suspicion of living off the earnings of a prostitute, encouragement of prostitution and blackmail.

The reporter, Naomi Edva, 44, was accused by another woman of helping her get started as a prostitute, renting an apartment for the purpose, and sent customers to her in exchange for a commission. The woman claims to have backed out of the arrangement when Edva's promises to help her become a model turned out to be empty.

World tourism meeting to be held in Jerusalem

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Skal, the international organization of tourism executives, will hold its November 1985 world convention in Jerusalem, the Israel branch of the organization announced yesterday.

This is the first time the world body will meet in the capital, although it convened in Tel Aviv in 1972. Tourism circles view the meeting in Jerusalem as highly important inasmuch as it will bring some 2,000 people, from the top ranks of the world's travel trade to the capital.

Jerusalem was one of eight cities competing for the meeting, said the organization's spokesman. He noted that other countries have benefited from an increase in visitors following such meetings.

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Moshavnik dies as tractor overturns
GIVAT NILI (Itim). — Thirty-three-year-old Shlomo Panco was killed near this moshav east of Zichron Ya'akov on Tuesday when the tractor he was driving overturned. He was crushed beneath it. He was pronounced dead in hospital in Hadera.

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SMADAR

Reprimand for Israel Bonds agent in U.S.

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
The Israel Bonds Organization office in Jerusalem yesterday afternoon had still not been informed of the legal troubles that had struck the organization's underwriter in the U.S., the Development Corporation for Israel.

"This is the first I am hearing about it," Leo Krown, director of the organization's Israel office, told *The Jerusalem Post* in reply to a question.

On Tuesday, the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission reprimanded the underwriter for failing to record properly some

large cash transactions. The commission said Development Corporation for Israel had violated a rule of the Internal Revenue Service requiring financial institutions to report all cash transactions involving more than \$10,000.

According to the SEC, when a client made a cash payment for Israel Bonds that exceeded \$10,000, the money was recorded improperly as having been received over a period of days. For example, a \$16,000 payment would be recorded as having been made in the form of \$10,000 on one day and \$6,000 on another day, apparently to avoid reporting the transaction to the

Internal Revenue Service. The SEC also discovered that Development Corporation for Israel's sales personnel was not recording all the information about customers as required by SEC rules.

Admitting that "some of our staff members on occasion failed to comply with certain technical reporting requirements," the Development Corporation for Israel consented to the SEC's formal reprimand. It said an administrative settlement was reached to avoid the "effort and expense of litigation."

The reprimand covered a period of at least 16 months beginning January 1982.

Private builders present an ultimatum

By AARON SITTNER
Jerusalem Post Reporter
Slighted by Housing Minister David Levy's suggestion that some private builders may have wanted to get rich too quickly, and that there is no recession at all in the housing business, private building contractors are threatening to stop work on January 16 unless the government agrees to three demands of the Federation of Contractors and Builders.

The demands, contained in resolutions approved at the closing session of this week's convention of the Federation of Contractors and Builders, concern mainly non-residential contract work the builders do for government and semi-public agencies.

The contractors want all pay-

ments due to them to be linked to the Consumer Price Index. They also want the period of payment to be shortened, and they demand a 21 per cent increment to all prices they had quoted in existing, signed contracts.

David Gatt, a federation official, said the contractors need a 15 per cent compensation for the higher costs of capital, and another 6 per cent "to compensate us for irregularities in the calculation of the Construction Inputs Index." This index, compiled by the Central Bureau of Statistics, tracks the changes in the price levels of labour, building materials, land and other components in the building trades.

According to Gatt, "a large number of contractors" would face

bankruptcy within six months unless the three demands are met. If the companies close down, he added, between 15,000 and 25,000 construction workers would have to be sacked.

David Stern, who was re-elected president of the federation, said: "In the 1966 recession, more than 16,000 building workers were lost to the trade, and never returned. We must not allow this to happen again. If there is a drop in demand for new flats, let the government order construction of old-age homes, to unburden our hospitals of their geriatric patients, and new roads, to accommodate the burgeoning number of automobiles on our roads."

"If the building industry comes to a standstill again, it will be a national catastrophe!"

UN panel condemns Israel over unreleased terrorist

UNITED NATIONS (AP). — A UN committee voted Wednesday to condemn Israel for allegedly violating a prisoner-exchange agreement and holding back Ziyad Abu Ain serving a life term for killing two persons in a terrorist attack four years ago.

The General Assembly's Special Political Committee demanded that Israel immediately release Abu Ain, and ensure his transfer to Algeria "in conformity with the agreement reached through the good offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross." The vote on the resolution was 75-3, with 30 abstentions. Israel, the U.S. and Canada voted "no."

Abu Ain had been held since 1982 for a terrorist bombing that killed two and wounded 36 in Tiberias in

1979. After the attack he fled to the U.S., and Israel was only able to bring him back for trial after lengthy proceedings in U.S. courts.

Sources involved in the negotiations and in the exchange said Abu Ain's name had been included in the original PLO list. However, in transcribing his name for the final checks his name had been misspelled. The resulting confusion was exploited by the Israeli security authorities, who removed him from a bus at Ben-Gurion Airport and returned him to prison.

In another action Wednesday, the Special Political Committee voted 112-2 to demand that Israel not proceed with a project for piping Mediterranean Sea water downhill to the Dead Sea to produce hydroelectric power.

Haifa's air is still the dirtiest

By DAVID RUDGE
HAIFA. — This city is still the country's most polluted, despite a marked reduction in air pollution this year.

Zvi Forer, director of the Union of Local Authorities' Environmental Protection Unit, told a symposium at the Technion yesterday that emissions from the Electric Corporation's Haifa Bay power station had been reduced following the lowering of its generating capacity.

Forer maintained, however, that the station and the nearby Oil Refineries were together responsible for 89 per cent of the city's air pollution with their sulphur dioxide gas emissions. Other chemical factories in the Haifa Bay area were responsible for the remaining 11 per cent.

He said the two plants should burn a lower-sulphur content fuel and raise their smokestacks, although the latter was impracticable due to the close proximity of the Haifa airfield.

Dr. Ami Rubin, director of the drug institute at Rambam Hospital said research carried out in other countries into air pollution as a possible cause of lung disease is inconclusive.

TA councilman: 'Tell tourists what's kosher'

TEL AVIV. — The head of the city's Religious Front, Councilman Haim Basok, is demanding that the tourism magazine *Apropos Israel* indicate in its restaurant list for Tel Aviv which restaurants are kosher.

Basok wrote to Yoram Barnea, the editor of the bi-monthly, saying that the failure to mention which restaurants and cafes are kosher misleads Jewish tourists, who assume that all are kosher.



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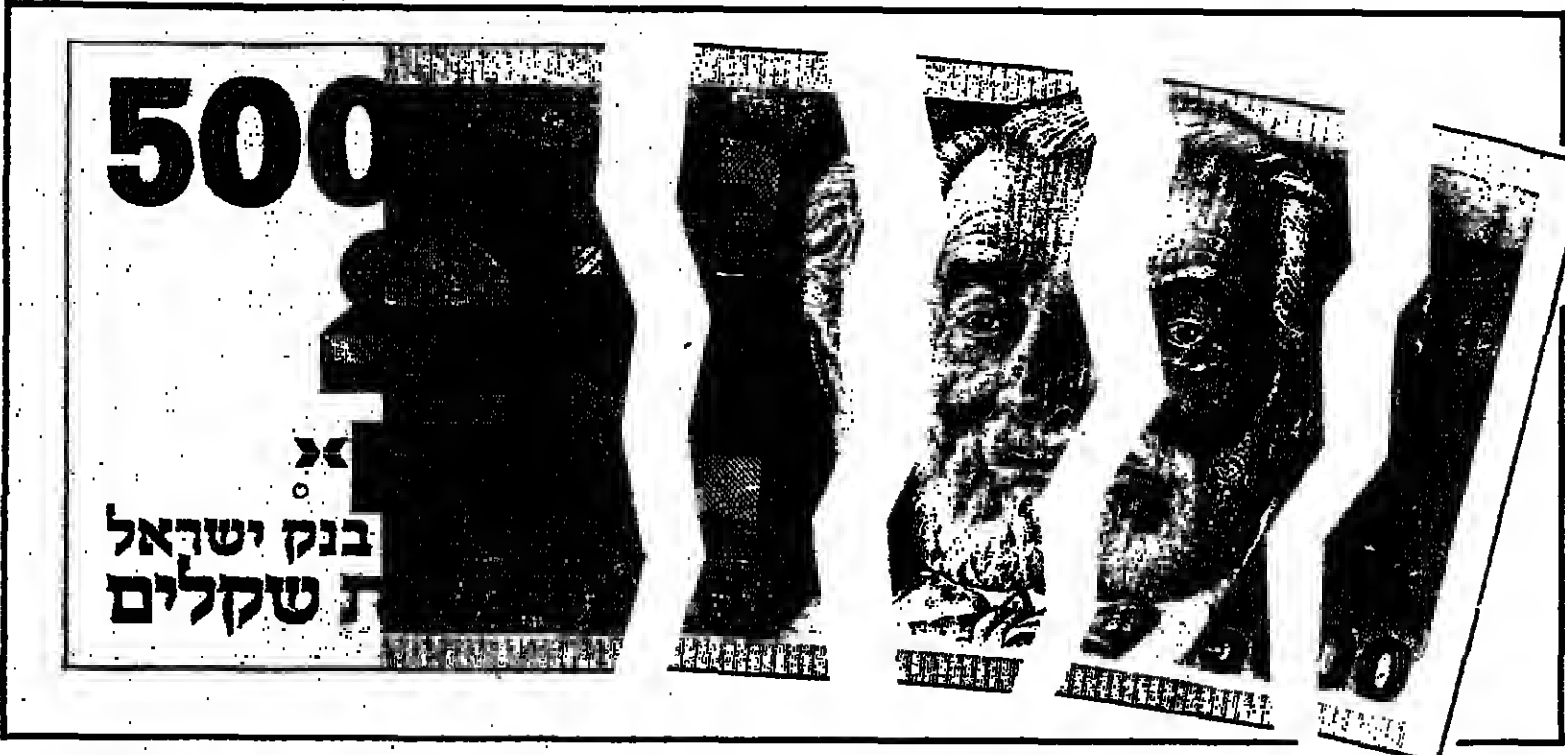
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The business of belt-tightening

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL / Jerusalem Post Reporter



"I have a freezer," said Margalit Lotan, mother of two pre-school-age children, whose husband is a mechanic. "I buy almost everything between the third and fifth of the month. That way I get more of what we need for my money. I also try to pay in cash or in one check, to save extra bank transactions. I pay all my bills with one cheque at the *hish bank*, the express system."

But it was clear this week that this sort of maneuvering is nothing more than a temporary reprieve, and that like an aspirin, the effect soon wears off and the toothache is still there. The shopkeepers and the shoppers of Israel know that the real change is in the amount and the variety of purchases being made. Israelis are becoming much more careful about where and how they spend.

One of the most significant signs of this is that most of the local grocers no longer give credit.

Shimon Ben-Hamu, in Jerusalem's German Colony, shrugged as he explained: "We can't afford monthly accounts any longer. It's hard to say this to a customer of 10 years overall, but it's a fact. My profit is never more than 20 per cent overall, and if 17 per cent of that is eaten up by the month's delay in payment, then how can I operate?"

How indeed? For Ben-Hamu also knows that the one binding tie between the customer and the local shop is the credit. If one has to pay cash, then why not shop in the market? A number of grocers expressed the feeling that a lot of corner groceries would be closing down in the coming months.

IN A PERFUMERY on Ben-Yehuda Street, in Jerusalem, the manager spoke of the sale of cosmetics.

"Yes," she said, "women are still

buying cosmetics, but they aren't buying as much or as freely. Few women come in now and ask for an item by a brand name; they're more likely to compare the various brands, checking the amount of the contents and the price before buying. They also tend to buy what's on sale on the counter rather than from the shelf." In Tel Aviv's Dizengoff, Lise Eldin, who owns (Lisa) the Lisa Perfumery, said that the same was true in Tel Aviv.

"People are cutting down on expenditure. A woman who usually buys nail lacquer in all colours now buys just two and mixes them to get a third shade. Also, some of the less expensive brands of moisture cream and make-up are becoming more popular."

In the boutiques, sales staff report that there's a going business in accessories: belts, scarves, costume jewelry, coloured stockings, but

not many sales of dresses.

Rina Rosner in Jerusalem said "Women are buying things that make an old dress look new. The boutiques are hard hit, too, because of the late winter. No one thinks of real winter clothing while it's still sleeve weather. By the time the winter comes, either they'll decide to make do with what they have, or the sales will already be on."

The decreasing purchase of clothing also extends to the specialty shops dealing in bridal attire, where owners say that rentals of wedding gowns are up, but actual sales are down.

"A woman likes to think she'll keep her wedding-dress for her children," said one shop-owner, "but in the end, a lot are settling for a rented dress, as the families try to pare down the expenses for the festivities."

In the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem halls, where weddings, bar mitzvas and other festivities are catered, there's an increasing demand for buffets with wine and cheese, or light snacks and punch, but fewer sit-down dinners are being ordered.

Book-stores, too, are feeling the slump, particularly the large firms dealing in new books. But the shops selling used paperbacks seem to be doing fairly well.

"There's a drop, no doubt about it," said an employee of The Bookstop in Jerusalem, which specializes in secondhand paperbacks. "But all in all, people are reading a lot." One customer remarked that the paperbacks were her "week's supply of tranquilizers."

THIS FEELING seems to extend to the entertainment field, theatres and cinemas reporting little if any decline in audiences. In a sort of "bread and circuses" mentality, most people seem to feel that their entertainment shekels are some of the most well-spent, and children's tickets to the "Children's Song Festival" were being snapped up this week at IS900 each.

Nor do the sellers of lottery tickets, soccer-pool cards and the like seem to be complaining.

"It's like this," said Eli Mahouti, who apparently hasn't lost any of his regular customers for lottery tickets at his stand in Jerusalem's Katamon neighbourhood. "When you don't know how you're going to manage in any case, then what's a few shekels to buy a chance of a million or more? People always think that maybe a miracle will happen." But there were no miracles in sight for Amnon Schori, who stood next to me at the office of the Government Employment Service. Aged 26, he is a semi-skilled construction worker who was laid off last week.

"I don't know what we'll do," said Schori, whose wife Ilana works as a checker in a supermarket, earning IS13,000 a month. "Ilana's salary barely covers the nursery-school fees for our two children and part of the groceries. Schori is looking for a job, and will be collecting unemployment insurance for the next four to five months, if he can't find work. But the insurance is far less than what he earned, and as it was, they were scarcely getting by on that."

ANOTHER indication of the pinch was the appearance of the avocado farmers at the high-rise apartment buildings in Tel Aviv, where they were selling their own avocados at IS25 per kilo. The market price is IS30-60, but the grower only gets

IS6-8 per kilo. In an attempt to keep afloat, many moshav farmers decided to sell the fruit themselves — a gamble, because some were bound to be caught and fined for illegal marketing.

The same was true of sellers of other luxury items such as iceberg lettuce and mushrooms. One woman in Tel Aviv said she had thought almost all her fruit and vegetables last week from farmers who were selling door to door.

A veteran avocado grower from the coastal plain who refused to allow his name to be used said that unless a farmer sells at least 10 to 15 per cent of his produce without going through the middlemen, he cannot stay in business.

"I'm not speaking of a profit on the farm, or even a minimum wage for the farmer," he stressed. "Just paying the overheads and keeping the place going."

At two Jerusalem petrol stations, one on King David Street the other at Kiryat Hayovel, there was business as usual this week, with about the same amount of turnover as last month. But at the entrance to the city and at the station in Sha'ar Hagai there was a slump, indicating that possibly more people are opting for inter-urban travel by public transport.

ANOTHER group hard hit by the credit squeeze and the rate of inflation are free-lance translators and writers. Many of them have stopped taking assignments from the universities or the government, since they usually have to wait for payment in shekels without linkage, for about 90 days. Even when pay is linked to the dollar, postal delays cause a great loss.

One free-lance writer mentioned that she was owed \$200 by a magazine that is exemplary in its prompt payment. Payment, however, is in shekels. She put in her bill on November 12, and a cheque for the shekel equivalent at 87 shekels to the dollar was mailed to her on the 19th. When the cheque arrived on November 30, the rate was already IS95 to the dollar. She had lost IS1,600 in buying power.

Looking at the situation and realizing that it's only the beginning, Sheila Oholav, 38, a working mother of three, said that she had no real plan for the future.

"In fact, those who tell me that they have seen unreal to me. In the end, I think it's wishful thinking. What we're really doing is just muddling through — us, the government, everyone. Just muddling through and hoping that somewhere we'll succeed."

Reagan's record on Israel

By WOLF BLITZER / Post Washington Correspondent

Naturally, it was an opportunity for Reagan to score some points with the Jewish community. Politicians are usually anxious to do exactly that, especially as new elections draw nearer.

Indeed, sceptics will argue that the improved U.S.-Israeli relationship would have occurred no matter what policies Israel might have adopted in recent weeks or what developments might have unfolded in the Middle East. Presidential election years in the U.S. always tend to be good for American-Israeli ties.

WHILE THERE certainly is a lot of truth in that, there is also no doubt that other factors were even more critical in turning around the U.S.-Israeli relationship this time.

Israel, today, is needed by a Washington anxious to get the marines out of Lebanon. Closer ties with Israel are viewed as absolutely essential in this regard. Thus, the relationship would have improved even if new elections were not just over the horizon.

"The president views Israel in a very positive light," Gale said. "He really believes that Israel is a strong and vital ally. Strategically, (Israel) can be of great assistance to the United States."

Gale did not, however, try to conceal the fact that there are still differences between the U.S. and Israel. Referring to the Reagan peace plan, he said, "The president has proposed a peace initiative. It is still on the table. It is still alive. No party to the conflict has been willing to come to the negotiating table under its auspices, but we're still optimistic and hopeful that we can find a formula to get Jordan and Israel to the negotiating table. We're going to continue to look to find ways to do that."

Still, Gale agreed that resolving the problems in Lebanon had taken a more immediate priority. "The president has said that our efforts in Lebanon are going to be a key factor in the ultimate success of the broader peace process and that if we're successful in Lebanon, there will be greater opportunities for success in the broader peace process."

"If we're unsuccessful in Lebanon, our chances of success in the broader peace process are going to be diminished. So I think we're going to look at Lebanon and we're going to look at the broader peace process."

GALE AND OTHER Republican leaders, at the same time, are also looking at the elections in November 1984.

Assuming Reagan wants a second term, he will make a major effort to secure Jewish votes, which could be decisive in a close vote.

"In the 1980 elections," Gale said, "we won 42 per cent of the Jewish vote. It was a high watermark for a Republican candidate." Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, most Jews have voted Democrat. Gale believes Reagan

can do at least as well in the Jewish community next year — maybe even better.

MUCH, OF COURSE, will depend on the Democratic candidate. Walter Mondale, for example, is clearly more popular among Jews than John Glenn.

"I think that Ronald Reagan has a record which he can run on very well in the Jewish community," Gale said. "I think the Jewish community has to look at the record in its entirety, not in a vacuum. There are a lot of things that the Jewish community is not aware of that this Reagan Administration has done for Israel."

Asked to elaborate, Gale referred to the increase in U.S. economic and military assistance for Israel in the past three years: "I'm not sure many American Jews understand that when Ronald Reagan came to office in 1981, total foreign aid to Israel was at the \$1.7 billion level. Today it is at \$2.6 billion. That's a substantial increase."

Gale also referred to the whole area of unpublicized political, military and intelligence cooperation between the two countries — exchanges of information, ideas, dialogues that the world isn't aware of and doesn't really need to be aware of.

"You don't have to do everything in public to be a good friend and to have a special relationship. As a matter of fact, some things are more successful when you can have an exchange of ideas in private."

"If they ask me my advice as to the theme of the next campaign," Gale continued, "I will say that basically the U.S.-Israeli relationship is better today than it was when Ronald Reagan took office, and that while, yes, there have been ups and downs, the fundamental bedrock relationship is better today. In short, the U.S.-Israeli relationship is thriving."

American Jews do not vote simply because of Israel. Like all Americans, they also consider other issues. But assuming U.S.-Israeli ties are still as good in 11 months as they are today, that probably will do wonders for the president's vote-getting appeal in the Jewish community.

CHAELE GALE is leaving his post as White House liaison to the Jewish community to become a special assistant to Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Gale, 32, a former lobbyist at the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) who left to join the Reagan campaign in 1980, has been anxious to take on a new challenge in the administration, having spent his recent years working exclusively on Jewish and Israeli-related issues.

While in the White House, Gale no pretensions that he was very central in shaping U.S. policy towards Israel and the Middle East. He did some of his predecessors in the Republican and Democratic administrations.

He was fully aware of the limitations and very real frustrations of assignment when he accepted it July 1982.

My primary responsibility was to articulate the president's policies to the American Jewish community and to generate understanding and support for them," he told me in an interview.

Another component was for me to carry feedback from the American Jewish community to the president and his advisers on their terms. Finally, when the president's advisers wanted to meet with the Jewish community, he Jewish community wanted to meet directly with them, it was my job to assist in arranging those things."

GALE DID NOT boast that he had

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THE REAL TEST, one can suppose, will be whether the Israel Army Censor allows this article, or the study it is based on, to be translated and distributed in the West Bank.

Judging by some of the examples and the conclusions of Dr. Meron Benvenisti's just-published survey of "Israeli Censorship of Arab Publications," conducted under the auspices of the New York-based Fund for Free Expression, the chances are not great.

After all, as Benvenisti's random sample shows, the censor prohibits the publication of death notices in which a Palestinian family "in the homeland and in the diaspora" mourns the passing of one of its members.

If that makes him produce his triangular "Prohibited" stamp, how will he react to a study that not only reproduces what he has specifically barred from publication, but also concludes: "Despite the pervasiveness of censorship, the censors — like their counterparts throughout history — are fighting a losing battle," adding that their struggle "is particularly pathetic, because of the proliferating technology of communication from Arab states that penetrates the West Bank and because of the emergence of new and powerful intellectual centres in the West Bank itself?"

CENSORSHIP of Arab publications is merely another aspect of the struggle between Israel and the Palestinians. Both sides value words and ideas as powerful weapons: both see themselves as beleaguered minorities and both consider censorship a method of denying the other side legitimacy.

"Legitimacy — or the perception of legitimacy — is what is at stake," Benvenisti notes. The primary concerns of the military censor (when it comes to the West Bank or Gaza) are not to suppress national security secrets and ideological tracts but rather to "eradicate expression that could foster Palestinian nationalist feelings or which suggests that Palestinians are a nation with a national heritage. Concomitantly, expression denying Israeli legitimacy or imputing behaviour to Israeli officials that suggests illegitimacy is eliminated by the censor."

Conversely, the Arab press attempts to assert precisely what the censor would prohibit. "It is a mobilized press and its editors — with no exceptions but with varied emphasis — attempt to express Palestinian nationhood and to question Israeli legitimacy."

BENVENISTI was prompted to undertake the censorship survey by New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis, who noted that the censor

THE THICK BLUE PENCIL

By DAVID RICHARDSON / Jerusalem Post Reporter



was banning well-known titles of world literature such as George Orwell's 1984. The 166-page study covers censorship of the Arabic press, as well as the censorship of books. There is also a brief but useful review of press freedom in Israel proper and a survey of the relevant legislation, by Dr. Dina Goren of the Hebrew University.

The Arabic papers have based themselves in Jerusalem partly in order to "enjoy" the same laws the Israeli press is subject to. Nonetheless, there is an immense difference in practice.

Censorship-practice relations in the Israeli press are governed by a voluntary system of self-censorship which reflects a basic national consensus. The subjects on which censorship applies are defined; there is a mechanism for appeal and a Knesset committee to supervise the process. This voluntary agreement, Benvenisti stresses "based on mutual trust, does not apply to the Arabic press."

The Arabic press "perceive themselves as situated in the forefront of the national struggle against the occupation... Their 'advocacy journalism' is reflected in the choice of news items, choice of phrase, and even in the contents of their advertisements."

Benvenisti's conclusions in this respect are largely based on a symposium on the role of the Palestinian press in the West Bank published in February 1980 by the Jordanian daily *al-Dustour*.

"The Israeli authorities accept the self-image of the Arabic press at face value, but carry it *ad absurdum*," he says. Quoting an affidavit submitted to the High Court of Justice in 1982 by the government responding to a suit brought by one of the Arabic papers, he says that "for the censor, the nationalist stance of the Arabic papers means the 'Palestinian covenant,' the destruction of the State of Israel, refusal to recognize the national existence of the Jewish people and its national rights and that their style is merely a 'secret call for armed struggle.'"

THE ARABIC press is also subject to dual censorship since, apart from the regular Israeli laws, the military government may also cancel distribution permits in the West Bank and Gaza. It also requires the frequent renewal of such permits and numerous editors and journalists have been detained or placed under lengthy terms of town arrest. One editor was expelled to Jordan.

Editors in the Arabic press

routinely prepare at least 25 per cent more material than they can print because they know the censor is liable to kill some of their items. All copy, including advertisements and photographs, has to be submitted, and the papers are not allowed to leave blank space. If they are pressed for time, they usually fill the space with an announcement saying, "We apologize." Perhaps the censor himself ought to be signing that announcement.

Nonetheless, "it is ironic that, under Israeli rule, the Arab press enjoys a degree of prosperity it never previously experienced," the survey notes, probably reflecting the generally acknowledged shot in the arm the Israeli occupation gave to flagging Palestinian nationalism in the United Hashemite Kingdom prior to 1967.

There are three dailies with circulation runs of from 10,000 to 15,000 for *al-Quds*, 3,000 to 5,000 for *al-Fajr* and 2,000 to 3,000 for *al-Sha'ab*. All appear in an eight-page format. In addition, there are five weeklies (some with circulations of up to 15,000), four bi-weeklies and monthlies and numerous irregular publications.

Benvenisti's study was based on a survey of a sample of censored articles taken from the files of *al-Fajr* between May 1982 and April 1983, 40 randomly selected items from *al-Sha'ab*, six articles from the bi-monthly *al-Shir'a* and some censored items from the English weekly *al-Fajr*.

If there is a weakness in this survey, it is that the statistics provided do not have any direct bearing on the conclusions. Since the samples are unequal, a table of the distribution of censored items by subject and paper cannot lead to any firm conclusion. Nor does a table of censored items analysed according to source of the report reveal anything significant.

HOWEVER, a sample of the translations of some of the censored items is astounding. Why would an intelligent person bother to censor an item recording "the release of Adal' Khalil of Nabul after two months' detention?" Why should readers of the Arabic papers not know that French communists "favour an international conference in solidarity with the Palestinian people" or that 100,000 Israelis demonstrated against the war in Lebanon (an article drawn from the Hebrew daily *Al-Hamishmar*)?

Does an item from an Israeli Radio news bulletin reporting that a member of an Egyptian medical delegation complained that \$15,000 was stolen from his room constitute

a threat to Israeli security and legitimacy? Do items based on reports from the Arabic service of Radio Monte Carlo, freely heard all over the West Bank, become intolerably inciting when seen in written form by the few thousand readers of *al-Fajr* or *al-Sha'ab*?

To be sure, there are items, like the poem commemorating the "tenth year of martyrdom" of Ali Tahawe, who was killed during the 1972 terrorist attack on Lod airport, which would make most censors reach for their stamps or pencils. But surely items reporting a conference on the preservation of Palestinian history in Tunisia, the resignation of Menahem Milson as head of the civil administration or the despatch of French troops to Beirut do not warrant the same treatment.

FOLLOWING the fiasco surrounding the censorship of books initiated by Anthony Lewis' article, the censor issued a revised master list of censored books in September 1982. This list contains 1,002 titles, and although some 600 titles have been added subsequently, the original list served as the sample for Benvenisti's survey.

Since 1977, there has been a phenomenal increase in the import of Arabic books, following the opening of the border with Egypt. In 1981, 21,432 titles were imported. Of these only 3 or 4 per cent were censored, but Benvenisti notes that they "represent 100 per cent of all works that express, instill, or foster Palestinian-Arab national feelings and national heritage."

Benvenisti stresses that his study is *ex post facto* and that no attempt has been made to interview the censors on their intentions, but rather to examine their motivations through their actions.

Here the statistics provide useful guidelines. It appears that the name of a publishing house already gives the censor an indication of content without requiring him to read the books — hence the disproportionate number of banned titles from the PLO Research Centre which used to exist in Beirut, and a communist publishing house, *al-Tah'a*. "The high percentage of fiction and poetry works censored (25.6 per cent), and the large number of poets and novelists censored point to the importance the censor attaches to that type of literature. This is not surprising, since poetry is traditionally a means of expressing nationalist feelings," Benvenisti notes.

THE INVASION of Sinai is acknowledged as difficult because of the problem of transportation and supply in the desert and Israel's plans are described as "secret," as they surely must have been. The headline of the chapter is also pretty mild — "Israel's plots."

"Otherwise, there is nothing worth censoring in this book," the reviewers conclude.

ISRAELIS and Palestinians are engaged in a "zero-sum game," Benvenisti concludes. "The fulfilment of the other's national identity is perceived by each group as equivalent to the destruction of its own identity."

"The Israeli censor, suffering like his compatriots from the 'besieged minority syndrome,' sees the *men* publication of a nationalist Palestinian paper, irrespective of its contents, as a provocation; and one-sided reporting of events in the territories as 'emphasizing violence against Israel and the military government, non-recognition of Israel and provocation against it'."

"The struggle over censorship will persist, as the struggle over legitimacy will persist, until both sides abandon the view that they are engaged in a game that only one can win."

This article was also submitted to the censor. No changes were made in the text.

The Mosley mystery

By HYAM CORNEY / Post London Correspondent

This theme was taken up by another Labour MP, veteran Ian Mikardo, a Jew and a Zionist, who has represented East End constituencies in the House of Commons for many years and who can remember the activities of Mosley and his Fascists in their battles against the Jews. "Of all the democracies in the world," Mikardo declared, "Britain is the one country in which access to public information is the least readily

available. Secrecy is carried to lengths that would simply not be tolerated in other democracies."

THE PAPERS released so far relate to the activities of Mosley's British Union of Fascists between 1934 and 1937. According to Newsens, who has made a detailed study of them, they reveal that "powerful sections of the British establishment" wanted to make peace with Hitler. "It is not Mosley who was being

protected by the records being kept closed," Newsens said. "A whole group of the British establishment was prepared to come to terms with Hitler, and after the war, they preferred that their past views should be forgotten."

"Today, people tend to forget that many people in the Conservative Party and in the establishment were prepared to make a deal with Hitler. They were prepared to come to terms with him even as late

as the early years of the war. There is a very important job to be done today in exposing this state of affairs. There is a great deal about Mosley and the Fascists which still has to be brought to light."

"There are lessons to be drawn today from these issues if we are to take an intelligent approach to current problems such as whether it is wise to support Fascist governments as alternatives to communist regimes."

One aspect of the Mosley period that particularly interests those in the campaign to release the papers, is the links between Lord Rothermere of the *Daily Mail* and Lord Beaverbrook of the *Daily Express*. Once political allies within the short-lived United Empire Party

of 1930, they parted when Beaverbrook returned to the Tory party, and Rothermere continued and developed his relationship with the ultra-right. But the two remained firm friends, and in May 1934, Rothermere warned Mosley, that *Daily Mail* support for the British Union of Fascists would be threatened if Mosley continued to attack Beaverbrook.

THE ORGANIZERS of the campaign say they are convinced that files have been withheld because they give the lie to the frail myth that the vast majority of the establishment were hostile to Mosley's policies. The reverse, they say, is possibly nearer to the truth. They will continue to press for the release of all the remaining files.

Reactions to Lebanon

By WOLF BLITZER / Post Washington Correspondent

recently gave a group of Iranian Shi'ites the means to blow up American, French and Israeli military compounds.

"These are the Syrians whose entry into the Shouf Mountains was followed by unprecedented acts of slaughter. And — an event that keeps trying to dive down the

memory hole — this is the Syrian government that in 1982 sent troops into the city of Hama and annihilated some 25,000 Syrian citizens for opposing the policies of President Hafez Assad.

"The fact that Syria's foreign minister is now invoking the UN charter to say the U.S. is 'undermining the sovereignty and independence of countries in the region' doesn't mean the rest of us have to pretend we're dealing with a civilized member of the community of nations."

ON THE other side, syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft urged the

administration to remove the marines from Lebanon immediately. Referring to the air strike on Sunday, Kraft wrote: "The lesson is that, after striking back hard, the U.S. must pull the marines from Beirut in the interests of its more serious international business."

According to Kraft, the U.S. has two major commitments in the region: "American power is required to offset the Russians in the whole area," he said. "It is also needed to reassure the conservative Arab monarchies and sheikdoms against the threat posed by the Iranian revolution. But those responsibilities are best served by standing slightly aloof, on the ready to come in as a balancing factor."

Broader global interests are endangered by investing so much U.S. prestige and military muscle in Lebanon. Thus, Kraft concluded, "the paramount requirement is to move the marines out of Beirut in short order. For their continued presence as hostages to the crazies of world politics is fundamentally incompatible with international security."

Columnist Flora Lewis, writing in the *New York Times*, urged Reagan to immediately open a dialogue with the Soviet Union to try to calm down the Syrians. "Mr. Assad does run a bloody regime, and Lebanon might have a chance to find some formula for domestic reconciliation if he would permit it," she said. "But that is not a reason to stagger on towards utter tragedy in the vain hope of reforming him. The new U.S. mission in Lebanon is unrealistic. The time to stop, parlay and back away is now."

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A DIFFERENT approach was

WHEN THE campaign to release the Mosley papers began modestly earlier this year, few people gave it any chance of succeeding. It just sounded like a good gimmick. Indeed, even one of the organizers told me that he didn't think that it had "a cat in hell's chance" of getting anywhere.

But it has. At the beginning of November, the Home Office relented and agreed to the release of a large batch of papers that had been held back from public view for about 20 years (in Britain, official papers are usually released after 30 years).

Not all, however, have been released and at a meeting at the House of Commons on Wednesday, the organizers of the campaign made it clear that they would not

rest until everything relating to this period of British history was available to public scrutiny.

Norman Atkinson, a Labour MP, who presided at the meeting, said there was a strong suspicion that those papers still being held back dealt with relations between the British Fascist leader Oswald Mosley and the royal family.

Stan Newsens, who lost his seat as a Labour MP in the June election and who has been the key figure in the research side of the issue, expressed increasing concern in general about "unnecessary and unjustified secrecy over public records. The situation is totally unsatisfactory, and Britain compares very unfavourably with the situation in other democratic countries."

President Ronald Reagan's decision to use American air power against Syrian positions in Lebanon. An editorial on Tuesday said Reagan's "announced policy of responding to Syria's militarists in the only language they understand is an appropriate first step" in helping the American public better appreciate the stakes for U.S. interests in Lebanon.

"First of all," the newspaper said, "what we're dealing with in the Syrians is basically a bunch of thugs. This isn't the government of Lebanon or Jordan or Saudi Arabia. This is the crowd that most

HOW HAS the U.S. media reacted to the latest escalation of American involvement in Lebanon? In short, there has been a predictable response, covering the entire spectrum of opinion.

Some major newspapers, columnists and television commentators have welcomed the new get-tough U.S. approach towards Syria. Others, of course, have bitterly complained, urging the U.S. to pull its forces out of Lebanon immediately. Still others have taken a middle course. The *Wall Street Journal*, for example, was among the most outspoken in applauding

President Ronald Reagan's decision to use American air power against Syrian positions in Lebanon. An editorial on Tuesday said Reagan's "announced policy of responding to Syria's militarists in the only language they understand is an appropriate first step" in helping the American public better appreciate the stakes for U.S. interests in Lebanon.

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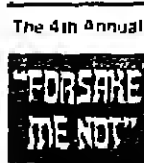
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How cold the 'cold peace'?

By DAVID LANDAU

HE TROUBLE with a "cold peace," says a senior Israeli official, is that it gets colder the longer it is in place. The opposite is also true: frequent contacts between top policy-makers can improve a relationship, even if they do not produce agreement on the issues.

Yitzhak Shamir was a case in point. When he took over the reins of the Ministry in 1980, he was ill-disposed about the treaty with Egypt — he had opposed Camp David — and personally untouchable the drama of the peace process. But in the subsequent two years of fairly regular meetings with Egyptian leaders, he visibly warmed to the peace and its potential. How useful it would be, the senior official says, and how useful, if Defence Minister Moshe Arens, another early sceptic, could build up a direct personal relationship with Gen. Abu Gazala, Egyptian opposite number, and with Egyptian ministers and top officers.

As it is, given the strained state of relations, Arens as minister has had personal exposure to the human face of peace.

On a deeper level, the "cold peace" could, with time, cool the public's feelings — towards Egypt, and towards peace with the Arabs in general. And that in turn could harden the government's position. "The quality of the peace is a factor in forming public opinion, and by extension in formulating government policy," says this without in any way minimizing or disparaging the

absence-of-war aspect of the peace with Egypt. The fact that no Israeli has been killed on the southern front since President Sadat visited Jerusalem can hardly be stressed enough. "But peace is more than end-of-belligerency — especially if your basic assumption is, as mine is, that we seek ultimately to become an integral part of this region."

Premier Shamir, reviewing the Israel-Egypt situation in his talks in Washington, said the evolving quality of relations with Egypt was a yardstick of the maturity of the Arab world in general and its political preparedness to live in real peace with Israel.

ON THE EGYPTIAN SIDE, the long months without meetings, without a high-level dialogue, have witnessed — some Israelis would say they caused — a regression in the hardening of policy positions. Egypt now says, according to the senior Israeli official, that it will not resume the long-stalled autonomy talks without Jordan and the Palestinians also participating.

This is a deviation from Egypt's original position (enshrined in a letter accompanying the peace treaty) that "in the event Jordan decides not to take part, the negotiations will be held by Israel and Egypt." Egyptian officials explain that two years of desultory talks on the autonomy scheme between Israel and Egypt alone proved fruitless.

In addition, Egypt now indicates that it would agree to resume talk-

ing only on the basis of the Reagan Plan. President Reagan depicts the plan as an elaboration of Camp David; but Israel has rejected it as a material departure from the original agreement.

"I am personally convinced," says the Israeli official, "though I know there are other opinions here, that had the autonomy talks not been broken off, they would have produced an agreement. We were not all that far apart. I am sure there are many West Bank Palestinians today who regret that the negotiation lapsed."

BECAUSE OF the fear of the "cold peace" deep-freezing, says the senior official, "Israel ardently wants to improve the relationship." Despite the persistent cold-shouldering — only this week Israeli exhibits were barred from a Cairo book fair — Jerusalem will keep trying, "but without crawling," the official adds.

Recently there have been mixed signs, and some new disappointments. In the summer, after the signing of the May '87 agreement with Lebanon, Israel awaited confidently the return of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv. Seemingly firm promises were transmitted, but the envoy failed to reappear.

Legal experts here say the 15-month absence of an ambassador is

becoming a juridical problem, not merely a political one. After all, Egypt committed itself as part of the peace treaty package "to send a resident ambassador to Israel." A 15-month recall "for consultations" strains the legal test of reasonableness.

Meanwhile import licences have been lapsing one after another, and trade between the two countries is drying up. There have been hints recently, says the senior official, of a thaw both in trade and in Egyptian tourism to Israel. "But so far we didn't see it — and it is not for a lack of interest by businessmen on both sides."

ALSO ON the debit side is Egypt's sustained virulence in the tone and tenor of its rhetoric at the United Nations. An Egyptian delegate recently referred to Israeli "concentration camps" in South Lebanon, though he must have known the special sensitivity of this term.

Israel for its part has not responded in kind. On the contrary, Israel made a point of voting in favour of Egypt's accession to the Security Council.

In Washington, Prime Minister Shamir complained about Egyptian verbal attacks at the UN. He also showed the Americans a sheaf of flagrantly anti-Semitic cartoons and

articles from the Egyptian press.

The credit side of the ledger is not overly long — apart, of course, from that most vital heading, the demilitarization of Sinai, which is reasonably well adhered to. There are violations, duly reported by the Multinational Force and Observers, but the overall feeling on the Israeli side is not of urgent anxiety, but rather of steady caution.

The MFO itself has been a real success story, according to the senior official. Both Israel and Egypt are fully satisfied with it and hope that all 10 contributing nations will keep their contingents in without change (Australia is reportedly considering withdrawing its men.)

Regarding the non-military aspects of the peace treaty, the Israeli ambassador in Cairo and his staff continue to function — and continue to be shunned by many sectors of Egyptian society. There is no comparison, says the senior official, between the access that the Egyptian charge d'affaires here has to all areas of Israeli life — the government, the media, the arts, social circles — and the much more limited ambit in which the Israeli diplomats in Cairo operate.

Similarly, Prof. Shimon Shamir's Academic Centre in Cairo is still a going concern — but its area of outreach is also limited, mainly to

Egyptians studying Hebrew or Israeli affairs.

THE FLOW of oil continues smoothly, to the benefit of both sides.

Applying the cup metaphor to the normalization, says the senior official, it is three-quarters empty or one-quarter full. More than 50 bilateral agreements were signed by the two countries, but most of them are inoperative at present.

The most hopeful sign of late was the invitation to David Kimche, Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, to visit Cairo early last month for talks with top officials there. Accompanied by the ministry's legal adviser, Elyakim Rubinstein, who has been involved in the peace process since its earliest days, Kimche spent three days discussing mainly these very issues of the "cold peace." He met with Foreign Minister Kamal Hassan Ali, Minister of State Butros Ghali, and senior ministry aides.

One tangible result of the visit is that there is soon to be a reciprocal visit by an Egyptian official of equivalent rank. Granted, this is not yet a resumption of dialogue on the leadership level, but Israel is hoping it will pave the way to ministerial meetings.

THAT, THEN, is the state of the balance-sheet at this time. The senior Israeli official denies that the "cold peace" and lack of contact have had the effect of hardening Israel's positions, too — particularly

on Tabat, the disputed beach south of Lital.

Israel's stand now is that the talks on Tabat should resume as soon as possible — but in Jerusalem and Cairo, the two capitals.

In the past this insistence on Jerusalem as a venue for the Tabat talks seemed absurd, or certainly less accented, in the Israeli position. Israel stressed instead that Tabat talks must be part of a general resumption of the diplomatic dialogue between the two countries.

The senior official says this second condition is still valid, too. But he emphasizes Jerusalem. Talks on Tabat were held there many times before, he recalls, and Israel cannot now depart from that precedent.

Granted, there were some talks on Tabat held at Ismailia last March, but they, says the official, concerned the interim arrangements at the disputed site, not the permanent solution, and thus they were held in the framework of the Israel-Egypt mixed commission.

Israel never insisted on Jerusalem as a venue for the autonomy talks. But that was a special case because, according to the Egyptian position, Jerusalem was itself an issue in those talks.

The senior official vigorously asserts that Israel has no wish to drag out the Tabat affair, which has become a serious irritant in the relationship. On the contrary, he says, Israel, having invested a great deal of legal research and spadework, is more confident than ever of its case, and anxious to reach the "conciliation" or arbitration procedure laid down in the peace treaty for resolution of disputes.

The senior official also corrects a misquoting in The Jerusalem Post

AFTER WEEKS of seesawing decisions and conflicting reports, it was not clear this week whether or not the nationwide network of Jewish ulpanim would fall victim to a major axing of the budget.

At first thought it was downright daring to discover that when Minister of Education Zevulun Hammer went through the motions of agreeing to Finance Minister Yoram Aridor's demands for major cuts in his budget, the first victim to come to the ministry's mind was the Hebrew ulpanim.

The cuts envisaged for the ulpan budgets would have closed scores of such adult education centres, in kibbutzim, immigrant absorption centres and cities, and would have left thousands of olim to find only half lives in an Israel whose toils are as yet Hebrew.

Two aspects of this exercise were legitimate cause for consternation. One was the programme of religious education, which the ministry's ultra-orthodox religious programmes, job benefit and are desired by a minority of those using them, totally untouchable. A disproportionately large slice of education budgets have been diverted

towards these programmes during Mr. Hammer's tenure to seven years as minister, both as an undisguised bribe of Agudat Yisrael and for the purpose of "proselytizing" the majority of secular children in the state school system.

Secondly, the ulpano network developed in Israel over the past three decades, and the experience garnered in the methods of teaching a difficult language to immigrants from a multitude of cultural backgrounds have been one of Israel's most remarkable achievements. Naturally it is difficult to believe that one of Israel's greatest successes would be the first victim in budget cutting when the evidence of one's eyes is that much of the economic *dolce vita* of the past few years is still confronting for a sizeable minority of the population.

But when one remembers what Yoram Aridor's predecessor, Yoram Aridor, has done for the ulpanim, it is not surprising that the ministry's ultra-orthodox religious programmes, job benefit and are desired by a minority of those using them, totally untouchable. A disproportionately large slice of education budgets have been diverted

An axe without political clout

By YOSEF GOELL

ment by the chairwoman of the Knesset Education Committee, Ora Namir, that she has reached agreement with Hammer, now in hospital, that any decision on the ulpanim budgets be put off until he recovers from his recent heart attack.

Could it be that Hammer shrewdly selected the ulpanim as his ostensible budget victim knowing full well that the ensuing national outcry and the involved interest groups would prevent the axe from actually falling?

THE AXE has been stayed: what is coming more and more into ques-

tion is the reality of Cohen-Orgad's economic policy. There is reason to believe, and the ulpanim is a case in point, that Orgad's determination to cut the operating budgets of government departments and agencies is as much a chimera as was Aridor's declaration of similar intent.

So many things have happened in the past four months that it is easy to forget that Yoram Aridor was at the same point last August as Cohen-Orgad is today. Aridor, after more than half a year of obstinacy and dithering in the face of growing evidence of the total failure of his dollar-foolish attempt to contain inflation, finally made his U-turn, and

called for major cuts in government budgets. He was outwitted by his ministerial colleagues, whose fiefdoms he was threatening.

Aridor was one of the most morose, abrasive characters ever to have made it to the top of the political heap in this country. Yet he was said to possess great power in Herut, due to his role in turning a potential Herut electoral debacle in 1981 into a narrow victory. That power did not help him get his way when he finally came to his economic sense last August.

Cohen-Orgad is in many ways Aridor's antithesis. He has been making the most dire economic prophecies but with a perpetual smile on his face. He is also given full credit for his courage in being nearly the only Herut member who openly criticized Aridor's economic madness before it was fashionable to do so. But he has none of Aridor's political clout. And he has been just as unsuccessful in getting his ministerial colleagues to change their profligate ways.

The economic atmosphere has changed, however, thanks to the

crash of the bank share market in early October and to the major devaluation of the shekel that followed. Many Israeli families are feeling the economic pinch for the first time in years, and quite a number are hurting.

COHEN-ORGAD, as a savvy economist, would be the first to admit that although the economy cannot be put back on the tracks without a general reduction in the population's real standard of living, such a cutback by itself is economically pointless and politically suicidal.

Professional and academic economists who applauded the October devaluation were unanimous in noting that it should have been preceded by a major cut in government expenditure and by a social compact with the Histadrut that would have included a partial freeze on the compensatory cost-of-living payments to be paid. These same economists are today saying that the October devaluation was "wasted" as a mechanism for economic reform, and that subsequent inflation has already caught up with and

wiped out nearly all the advantages that were supposed to accrue to our exports.

As a professional economist, Cohen-Orgad knows this as well as most of his professional colleagues. His problem is persuading Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, before he gets to his impending cabinet reshuffle, that what is needed is not a reshuffle but a basic upheaval in the composition of the Likud-led government coalition and a major change in their suicidal habits.

In all likelihood, by early spring the public will wake up to the fact that the economic sacrifices have been in vain — that a significant portion of the standard of living of 80 per cent of the population has been "washed away" by its leaders and had no impact whatever on reversing the downward spiral of the national economy.

When one considers that a Labour Party mesmerized with its own internal squabbling committed electoral suicide in 1977, is there any reason to believe that the Likud will not follow suit in 1984?

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff

ISRAEL AS A Strategic Asset" is the title of an article in the American monthly *Commentary* magazine. There, Professor Steven Legel, of the University of California, presented a detailed comparison of the relative contributions Israel and the Arab states to U.S. security in the Middle East.

Summing up, he wrote: "A hard look at the potential allies of the U.S. in the Middle East returns us to Israel as the only country in the region upon whom we can rely."

Thereupon, he added a crushing analysis of American policy, concluding his charge in a dramatic passage:

"In Shakespeare's *King Lear*, the monarch foolishly relinquishes his kingdom to two daughters who flatter him with expensive but false promises of everlasting devotion. He disowns his one faithful daughter, Cordelia."

The analogy with America's current Middle East policy is compelling. Countries like Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, which offer friendship but do not cooperate with U.S. peace or diplomatic efforts, are regarded as crucial allies, whereas Israel — which offers facilities and services — is progressively treated as a pariah, a candidate for economic sanctions and political isolation.

"King Lear destroyed his life, his only and his kingdom because he did not judge between friend and foe."

The moral for the United States is obvious.

Four months later, the events of October 23 provided a grim illustration of Spiegel's theme: the U.S. use of Israeli offers of immediately available treatment for marines wounded in the Beirut explosion that morning.

An hour-by-hour reconstruction

of that tragic day, painstakingly prepared by Congressman James H. Scheuer of New York, revealed (as Scheuer wrote) that "during a 12-hour period on Sunday, October 23, the Israelis repeatedly contacted American officials at every level possible with offers of assistance — equipment, rescue teams and a first-class hospital. No one took them up on the offer, despite the fact that the decision-makers in Beirut and in Washington knew, as that terrible day dragged on, that those evacuees were not going to reach definitive care hospitals in less than 10 to 23 hours." (*Baltimore Sun*, November 18, 1983).

Despite obfuscation and prevarication by members of the defence establishment — treacherously described in Scheuer's article — the Washington policy-makers' decision to risk lives, certainly to increase and prolong suffering, among their own soldiers was indisputably dictated by a desire, as one Pentagon spokesman did let slip on October 24, "not to infuriate the Arabs." Fate thus cast a penetrating light on the totality of years-long U.S. policy in the Middle East — designed ostensibly to strengthen deterrence of Soviet penetration, but in fact governed by the principle of not "infuriating the Arabs," of appeasing and fawning upon them, of encouraging them to continue the flow of petrodollars.

BARELY SIX WEEKS after that bloody day in Beirut, Premier Yitzhak Shamir and Defence Minister Moshe Arens returned from meetings in Washington with President Ronald Reagan and his advisers, beaming with euphoric smiles and making encouraging statements about agreement reached on increased U.S. economic aid, on possible enhanced trade relations and — the crux of the agreement — about providing for a degree of strategic consultation and cooperation (including the prepositioning of U.S. supplies in Israel). The whole agreement was enveloped in an unbecoming consensus on the common interest of Israel and the U.S. in deterring Syrian belligerence and blocking

Engagement of convenience

By SHMUEL KATZ

the expansion of Soviet power in Lebanon.

IN SHORT, an apparent reversal of U.S. policy. For seven years, Washington fostered the Syrian involvement which undermined Lebanese independence, transforming the Beirut government into a puppet of Damascus. It stretched out a protecting arm to the PLO, which used Lebanon as a base for attacks on Israel's civilian population, established Lebanon as the central headquarters of international terrorism, and subjected its population to a reign of rapine and murder.

Washington worked to frustrate every Israeli effort to break the power of the PLO. It successfully pressed Israel in 1981 (at Arafat's behest) to stop its offensive against PLO bases, thus giving Arafat his breathing space to prepare, with Soviet aid, a new, massive offensive against Israel; and undoubtedly thus forced upon Israel the Peace for Galilee operation in 1982.

That operation laid the foundation — at great cost to Israel — for tremendous objective advantages for both Israel and the U.S. It destroyed the PLO base and structure; it established conditions for renewed Lebanese independence; it clipped the Syrian wings.

These gains were largely determined by the application of traditional American policy — dancing to the Saudi tune, urging the Lebanese president to distance himself from Israel, exerting pressure on Israel calculated to prevent the completion of its speedy military success.

The result was a prolongation of the war, delay in crushing the PLO; the Syrians were enabled to recover, with Soviet aid, from the severe blows they suffered in their brief effort to stay the Israeli advance; and tremendous encouragement was given to all the warring sects in the country.

As the American Liberal weekly *The New Republic* pointed out (August 1, 1983):

"Pressing the Lebanese to embark on a clear path of peace with the Israelis, would have been the clearest possible sign of U.S. support for a strong, independent and neutral government in Beirut. By doing precisely the opposite, we signalled the Lebanese factions that they might, with our indulgence, continue to business as usual — violent and anarchic business."

A rational policy of cooperation with Israel in the fall of 1982 would

have consolidated mutual gains and averted much suffering; and would arguably have ruled out the seeping of U.S. marines to Beirut.

Such were the sins of Washington, compounded by a fatuous belief in a Saudi "moderating" influence on Damascus — and by recurrent pining of the Israeli government. Then, entangled in the web of Lebanese reality, horrendously illumined by the tragedy of October 23, Washington woke up to the fact that the only hope of credibly confronting Syrian ambitions was by forging a framework for cooperation with Israel, to belated recognition of the common interest in Lebanon.

IT IS, thus, no secret that the Washington agreement is an engagement of convenience, with a view to helping the U.S. out of the muddle into which it was landed by its obsessive traditional policy.

But it is absurd and hypocritical to hint or pretend (as Labour Party spokesmen have done this week) that the proposed cooperation with the U.S. conflicts with Israeli interests. It is an Israeli interest to prevent Syrian domination of Lebanon — which is but an instalment in its design to include all of Palestine, on both sides of Jordan in "Greater Syria." It is an Israeli interest to have a peaceful, stable, independent and friendly Lebanon as a neighbour. If Washington has

finally awakened to its own interest in these objectives, the people of Israel (including the Labour Party) may permit themselves to share in Shamir's and Arens' satisfaction at the Washington agreement; and to hope and pray that it will succeed in its purpose.

NOT FOR a moment, however, must it be forgotten that the American turnaround on Lebanon is a "local" aberration from its traditional policy. It does not signal a change in Washington's attitude, unchanged for so many years and indeed obsessive, on the crucial issue of Israel's future. It persists in its intention to press Israel to withdraw to the 1949 Armistice Lines and bring about Arab rule in Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

In the recent talks in Washington, too, Reagan did not forget to reiterate, albeit briefly, his expectations of "his" plan, not to repeat the cliché that the "settlements" are an "obstacle to peace."

This laconic reference serves as a further reminder — and warning — to Israel. There are now signs that the administration may find it possible to remove the Reagan Plan from the back burner before the presidential election. It depends on Hussein. There are signs that Hussein may succumb to American blandishments (including the promise that Israel will be subjected to immediate pressure to "freeze the settlements" and to agree to

open the subject of Jerusalem.) He would then announce, with or without Arafat's consent, his willingness to negotiate. On the basis, of course, of the Reagan Plan — which Jerusalem has rejected as an invitation to suicide.

If this happens, the pursuit of the plan (with the slogan of "Reagan the Peacemaker") could become a central theme in the Republicans' election campaign.

The vigour of such a campaign — to which the Democrats would have no convincing reply in view of their own record — may be imagined.

A wise government in Jerusalem, instead of merely basking in the warmth currently flowing from Washington, would, even at this late hour, hasten to effect a drastic revision in its information policy; and pre-empt the administration's campaign by creating a belt of resistance to the Reagan Plan within the American community.

Should Hussein again reject Washington's wooing, Israel will have more time to prepare such pre-emption.

The campaign for the shrinking of Israel will merely be postponed until after the presidential election (possibly re-dressed, of course, in a "Mondale" plan, or a "Glenn" plan).

WILL the Shamir government erase, at long last, the ongoing *hashara* blunders of its predecessors?

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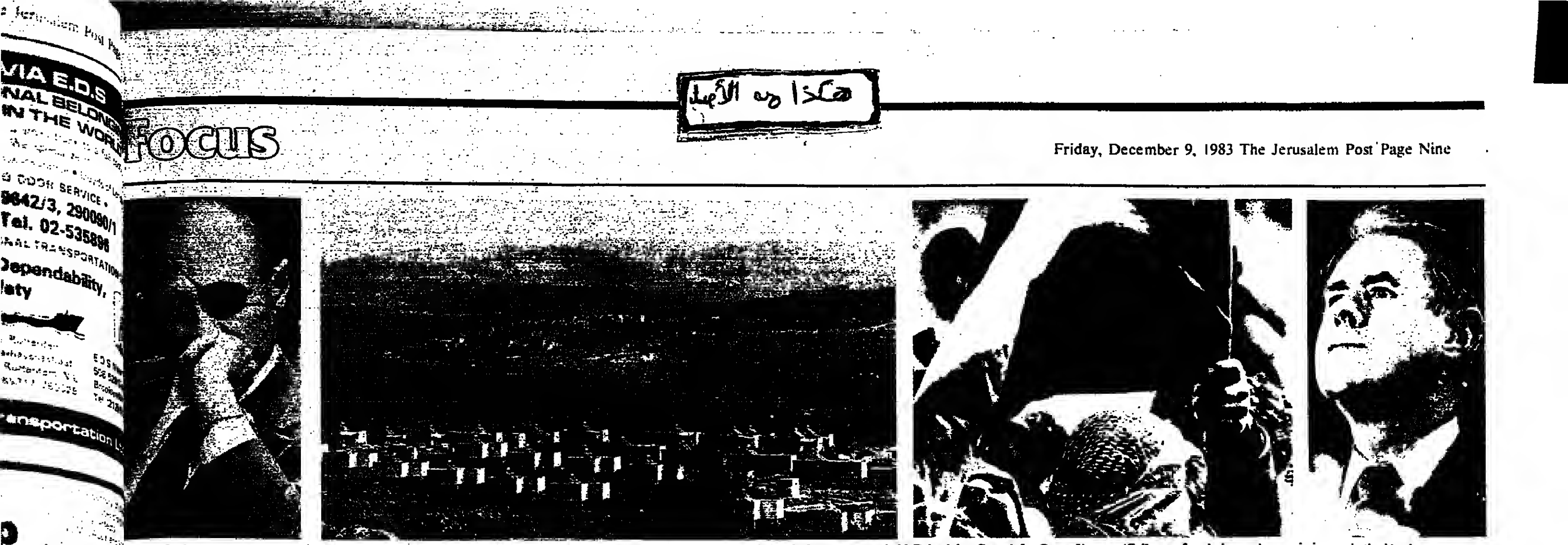
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From left: Moshe Dayan; Jewish settlements in the West Bank — Yakir in foreground, Emmanuel in background; Arab demonstrators hold Palestinian flag aloft; Cyrus Vance... 'Failures of omission and commission on both sides.'

SETTLEMENT AND STRIFE

The text of an address by former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance in Tel Aviv this week at the opening of the Dayan Centre for Middle East and African Studies.

TO HAVE KNOWN Moshe Dayan as a colleague and a strong and trusted friend was a great privilege. Surely he was one of the outstanding men of our time — statesman, soldier, scholar, and patriot.

From our first meeting, in early 1977, I was struck by his firm grasp of the problems we faced, by his agile mind and originality of thought, by the vision and wisdom which he brought to every discussion which engaged us.

His contributions to the success of the Camp David Accords, and to the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, can never be adequately described. Always a patriot, he nonetheless was able to find paths to solutions that were acceptable to both the Egyptians and his own delegation. When the outcome of the negotiations seemed dark and hopeless, as it did on several occasions, it was then Moshe who would propose a new way of considering the question at hand, or offer a new insight, illuminating the path ahead.

Without his presence and his total involvement for months on end, in spite of the pain that plagued him increasingly, the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty could not have been achieved.

It is given to few men to do so much within their allotted time. Moshe used those years to the fullest. He has left an unforgettable record on the pages of history.

MOSHE AND I often talked about the relationship between Israel and the U.S. — the ties that bind us, the strains that test us, and the importance of the common values and aspirations of our peoples. I will now speak about that relationship and what must be done to nourish it.

We start from the fact that the United States and Israel share a unique relationship. There are close links between our governments and the institutions in our two societies, all serving similar national interests. Above all, we are partners in the pursuit of democracy and freedom. I believe the special character of the relationship derives from this duality: the sharing of both interests and values. We each seek the search for economic prosperity with a deep concern for human welfare. We each place great emphasis on scientific and intellectual development and leadership, while respecting cultural traditions and religious commitments.

As in the nature of most special relationships, there are special tensions. Here they stem primarily from the differences in our respective size and position in the world community and from the vulnerability of our two nations to differing external threats. The United States is a global power living on a continent washed by two oceans, a nation that has not felt the impact of battle on its own soil for over a hundred years. Israel is a regional power located in the crowded Middle East. It has faced war on its borders almost without cease since its birth. The United States is a global and nuclear power with concomitant responsibilities to its citizens and to the world com-

munity, while Israel is concerned with concrete threats from terrorism and conventional warfare, from which it must protect its citizens. These differences in the security concerns of each country and the nature of their respective responsibilities understandably lead to variances of perception about the course each should follow in particular circumstances.

THERE ARE two contending views of the world inherent in American foreign policy: the theme of a polarized world and that of a world of interdependence. The "polarized world" theme posits for America an adversarial relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. In this context, the United States emphasizes its military capabilities and its principal goals are the maintenance and development of military strength and the projection of power into regions of the world potentially vulnerable to Soviet domination.

The concept of an "interdependent world" stresses the importance of peaceful relations among nations. In this view, the things American people cherish — freedom, justice, prosperity, and the hope for a better world for our children and for all mankind — are seen as depending on cooperative relationships with other nations. When this theme dominates, policy emphasizes the search for diplomatic solutions that will reduce the likelihood of tears in the fabric of peaceful coexistence.

Both themes are sounded in any American administration's foreign policy. Politicians and parties differ in their stress on each. From time to time, shifts occur so that one theme predominates over the other. Yet it is fair to say that a successful foreign policy addresses each in a balanced fashion, obtaining the benefits of interdependence while maintaining the strength to deter aggression. Such strength is not merely military; it includes economic and political strength as well. In a democracy, free expression of political views and a free press ensure that, over time, both themes are heard.

ISRAEL'S foreign policy, it seems to me, also moves between these themes. The first theme sees Israel surrounded by a sea of hostile Arab nations bent on its destruction. In this image, Israel's primary concern is for its military strength, its capacity to deter and defeat any attack from any Arab state or combination of Arab states. Like the polarization motif of Soviet-American rivalry, it is fed by tangible acts of hostility, such as terrorism, or the angry rhetoric of vilification often heard in international forums.

The second Israeli theme is that of regional interdependence and the pursuit of peace. Here the search is for a regional role for Israel as a nation among equals: not excluded but not dominant; a participant in cooperative economic, political, and social relations based on common benefit. This is a difficult foreign policy to maintain because it is often sidetracked by fear and distrust on both sides.

Balancing these two themes in each of our countries, is, I believe,

the key to the nurturing the managing of the special relationship between the United States and Israel.

Unless a proper balance is struck between these contending themes, there cannot be a successful foreign policy in either of our countries.

For example, if U.S. policy is so dominated by a preoccupation with East-West rivalry that we fail to devote proper attention to helping to resolve the problems of the Middle East, the chances for progress are diminished and our relations with Israel strained.

If Israel places primary emphasis on military solutions and on maintaining the military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, our relationship is also strained.

In either case, the result will be a skewed policy that will cause domestic strains in our respective countries and tensions between our two nations as these policies are played out in the Middle East.

IT IS THE responsibility of the leaders of both nations to make sure that a "proper balance" is struck. Both countries must remain strong to deter aggression, but both must also recognize that military domination of other peoples cannot produce long-term security for anyone. We must always remember, as we said at Camp David, that "security is enhanced by a relationship of peace between nations which enjoy normal relations." No nations or people will long remain peaceful when occupied by a foreign power.

Moreover, if either Israel or the United States allows itself to define our relationship primarily in military terms, we will damage the strands that have drawn us together. We will denigrate the deeper bond between us, a bond based on shared aspirations for peace and stability and the chance for our peoples to live their lives in dignity and freedom.

Let me be clear about basic U.S. attitudes and policies. The commitment of the United States and the American people to the security and the future of Israel is firm. There can be no questioning of that American sense of purpose. This is in our interest as well as Israel's, as together we try to work for peace, a stability, and progress in the Middle East.

One of the most important issues affecting our relationship is the unfinished business of Camp David.

What I am about to say is not new. But it bears repeating. We all start from the same place — the search for a just, comprehensive, and durable peace. All of us have repeated these words time and again. Sadly, however, our actions have not matched our words. There is neither time nor is it fruitful to dwell on the errors of the past. There have been failures of omission and commission on all sides — more than enough to go around. Whatever the reasons, it is undeniable that we have permitted serious negotiations on the core issues to languish and atrophy to a point where virtually nothing is happening. The cruel fact is that no real substantive negotiations on either the West Bank and Gaza, or the Palestinian question have taken place for many, many months.

ONE REASON is that for so long our attention and efforts have been

drawn away from these issues by the agony of Lebanon. Lebanon and the core issues are related. But our grappling with the one is no justification for neglecting the others.

Let me make clear that I am not suggesting that we should put aside the problems of Lebanon. Far from it. But, in my judgment, rather than dealing with these problems *ad seriatim*, we must pursue a dual or multi-track approach. To do so would ensure the commitment of our constant and active attention to each of the central issues that confront us.

As we watch what is happening daily on the West Bank, we see creeping annexation of that land. Unless reversed, before long, there will be *de facto* annexation. When this takes place, all of us will face grave danger. *De facto* annexation will mean that Resolution 242 is destroyed and, with it, the fundamental bargain of exchanging territory for full peace, a bargain that has been the basis for all the progress made to date. We will then find ourselves back at square one. The West Bank problem will be expanded into an East Bank problem, as well, with consequent danger for the Jordanian monarchy. And even the progress that has been made through the various disengagement agreements, Camp David, and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty will be placed in jeopardy.

It may be that some settlement-building on the West Bank might contribute to Israel's short-term security. But Israel must ask itself whether such security is worth the price of foreclosing the process of peace and a more lasting security based on political agreement rather than force of arms.

The United States must hold out to Israel an uncompromising commitment to Israel's security, coupled with a vision of a future at peace. But we must also make it unmistakably clear that settlement-building should cease, and that the future of the settlements is a proper subject for negotiation within the Camp David framework.

This should not be viewed as an attempt to punish Israel. Rather it is a statement of political fact about the Middle East and about Israel's prospects for a peaceful future. To be sure, the Palestinian problem is not the only issue in the Middle East, but it is a problem that cannot be ignored, and it is linked to other major issues governing the peace and stability of the region.

I do not wish to suggest that fault lies only with Israel. There is fault on all sides. There has been inflexibility and unwillingness to act by Arab parties as well, and the United States has not consistently played its proper role.

Israel now has a new government, led by a man of long experience. This is an appropriate time, therefore, for Israel to take an initiative of electrifying simplicity and value: to declare a halt to new settlement-building. With this one step, hopes for peace might be rekindled throughout the region.

There is the possibility that if Israel takes this bold initiative, Arab states and the Palestinians would not respond promptly, although I believe they would. But as we have learned from a decade's hard-won

diplomacy in the Middle East, it is the true act of courage that offers the best prospect for breaking political log-jams. It is the inspired act that captures the imagination of governments and peoples not only in the Middle East but far beyond it as well.

THE U.S. has long pursued the goal of Arab-Israeli peace for many reasons. We are committed to the security and future of Israel. As we all said at Camp David, the Palestinian people have legitimate rights and just requirements. We have an obligation to do what we can to limit human suffering. We are concerned that Lebanon not continue to be subjected to the offshoots of the Arab-Israeli conflict. And we are concerned about the corrosive impact that conflict has on our other interests in the Middle East, stretching as far as the Persian Gulf.

There is no question that the pursuit of peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors requires patience and perseverance. The issues are complicated and hard. Bitterness bites deep within all parties, and history is a hindrance rather than a help in finding solutions. There are no easy diplomatic victories to be won.

During the past decade, we have also discovered that steady, sustained U.S. diplomacy can make a difference, that progress can be made toward the final goal of reconciling Israel and the Arab states to one another. Leaders of both U.S. political parties have contributed to that progress, first through Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy, under Presidents Nixon and Ford, and then through President Carter's diplomacy at Camp David and afterward.

The key lesson of the past decade is that U.S. involvement in diplomacy frequently spells the critical difference between success and failure. When we play our part, which includes an active role for U.S. presidents, there is a better chance of moving forward, and a better chance that the parties will recognize the mutual benefits that flow from commitment to negotiation. When we abstain from an active role, the process of peace is all too often replaced by a destructive drift toward deepening conflict. In the Middle East, nothing stands still. We either move painstakingly forward or we all fall back.

Resolution 242 must remain the benchmark for the efforts of both the United States and the regional parties. Despite recurring conflict in the Near East, 242 remains the best hope of channelling energies away from war and toward peace.

I BELIEVE that the most realistic roadmap for gaining the objectives of Resolution 242 was drawn at Camp David. One of its twin accords has already been realized: the near-miracle of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The wisdom of President Anwar Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin turned two enemies toward peace and ultimately toward friendship.

The second half of Camp David — full autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza for an interim period of five years — has eluded our grasp. Yet it remains a valid objective. It

was premised on the understanding that Israel and the Palestinians have different visions of the future for the West Bank and Gaza, and that both visions cannot be fulfilled.

By providing for full autonomy and a period in which Israelis and Palestinians would work together on diplomatic alternatives, Camp David argued that time must be placed on the side of reconciliation and compromise. There must be time, it said, for both parties to learn to live with one another before final decisions are made about the future of the occupied territories. In saying all this, I underscore the words "full autonomy". Nothing less will permit achievement of the goal set at Camp David.

More than a year ago, President Ronald Reagan proposed an amended roadmap designed to reach the same objective. The Reagan Plan retains the spirit and most of the substance of the Camp David Accords. Its critics argue that the Reagan proposal is too specific in setting forth a U.S. view of the outcome for the autonomy process: the association of the West Bank and Gaza with Jordan. By contrast, supporters of the Reagan Plan believe that there is need to hold out hope to the Palestinians that the end of the autonomy process could mean Arab control over occupied territories; and to Israel, assurances, which I believe are required, that it would not be faced with a potentially hostile, independent Palestinian state.

In my judgment, President Reagan's proposal was a helpful contribution to advancing the peace process. I regret, however, that it has not proved possible, under either the original formula of Camp David or the Reagan proposal, to move the autonomy process forward.

The continued presence of Israeli and Syrian forces in Lebanon has, so far, delayed the return of the parties to the bargaining table. The PLO has, so far, been unwilling to agree that King Hussein join the peace process. Opportunities lost in 1981 and 1982, followed by preoccupation with Lebanon, and Syrian intransigence, have meant that the good offices of the United States were not available to test the possibilities inherent in either Camp David or the Reagan Plan.

IT MAY BE that full autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza cannot be secured so long as Lebanon festers. But it is critical, both for Lebanon and for broader peacemaking, that this objective remain clearly in our sight. It is critical that we prepare the diplomatic groundwork — this half of dual-track diplomacy — for turning all parties once again in the direction of a full and permanent peace between Israel and its neighbors.

We should now take several steps. First, it is important that the commitment of the United States be clear, and that the parties to the conflict begin again to face the requirements of a successful negotiating process in these discussions. Indeed, if the United States will stress this goal, articulating the broader vision can help to mobilize

support for the narrower diplomatic process in Lebanon.

It is also important to face squarely the obstacles that lie in the path of peacemaking for the West Bank and Gaza. Creeping annexation of the West Bank is not only an obstacle. Other difficult issues remain to be resolved in the negotiations. It is important to make clear that peacemaking will not halt with the West Bank and Gaza, but also must in time turn to the Golan Heights. This will not remove the veto on progress that Syria has sought to exercise. But at least it will indicate to most observers in the Middle East that the peace sought is comprehensive, as agreed in the Camp David Accords.

Jordan must be reassured that the United States firmly and fully supports its sovereignty and independence. Israel must be reassured that our support for its security is unyielding. The Palestinians must come to understand that their best hope of fulfilling their legitimate aspirations lies in a political process, not in strife and obduracy. Egypt must be reassured that her willingness to make peace with Israel was the beginning and not the end of Middle East peacemaking. And Syria must recognize that she cannot impose a stranglehold on the peace process.

AS ONE WHO has been involved in the efforts to ameliorate the Arab-Israeli conflict, I believe that we can and must redouble our efforts to revive the peace process. But it will be done only if all the parties to the conflict directly face the consequences that will stem from a failure to act and a failure to recognize the mutual benefits that can flow from successful diplomacy.

We must commit ourselves anew to breathing life into the peace process and recommit ourselves to the goal of achieving a fair and comprehensive peace. To do this, each party must show its willingness to take a series of concrete steps. But, above all, each nation must demonstrate that it has the necessary political will and courage.

I can remember vividly times during Camp David when the obstacles loomed so large that it seemed we could never reach the end of the road. But each of the three political leaders demonstrated time and again that they had the political courage to surmount the barriers that lay before them and to persevere until our common goal was achieved — the fashioning of a framework for peace in the Middle East. Because of this, the Camp David Accords became a reality. Although the hour is late, I believe that, with similar political will, it is still possible to revive the dormant negotiations.

If Moshe were here, I believe he would counsel us, as he always did, to keep the long view in mind and to pursue tirelessly the lofty goal agreed upon — a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace. And he, whose will was strong and vision clear, would challenge us to make the hard choices required.

Courage, imagination, and, above all, political will are needed. Time is short and failure to seize the moment carries with it grave responsibilities for all of us.



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Rabbi Hertzberg... 'I think all Jews should make aliya — me included.'

The disappearing Jews

The Jerusalem Post's David Krivine talks to Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg.

ABBI ARTHUR HERTZBERG, 62, is a somewhat remote figure, a man of few words, who has spent his life in the quiet of the West Bank. But he is not a quiet man. He is a man of ideas, a man who has spent his life in the quiet of the West Bank. He is a man of ideas, a man who has spent his life in the quiet of the West Bank. He is a man of ideas, a man who has spent his life in the quiet of the West Bank.

liability," he points out. "There is no great rush to become 'amateur goyim.' I am ready to run into 10 per cent who will announce that they don't want to be Jewish — we must take that in our stride."

The answers he expects out of his cross-questioning are of a more practical kind: the Jewish school costs money and they can't afford it, or it is too far away — complaints of that sort. The next step will be to provide the necessary help.

"If we can augment the number of children at Jewish schools by 10 per cent, we shall have gained — if we exclude from the calculation both Israel and the Soviet Union — 50,000 more pupils; which is a move in the right direction."

I STEER the interview back to politics, a change of subject to which he is perceptibly not averse. His opinions are strong and clearly defined. "Annexation of the West Bank would be a disaster," he declares. "I feel that the reasons justifying the retention of Israel's present borders: first, security (the country is tiny and will be indefensible if it is made smaller still); second, religion (Eretz Yisrael is the Promised Land). Hertzberg rejects both arguments with scorn. "They are nonsense from beginning to end," he informs me.

As to security: "All five chiefs-of-staff before Rafel (Rafael Eitan) are agreed that if the occupied territories were forcibly assimilated into the Jewish state, they would become a military liability."

But if they were seized by an Arab power, would they not become a threat? Hertzberg: "They must be demilitarized and the high ground must remain under Israeli military control. Apart from that, we have no business being there."

"Besides" — he sweeps the organizational details impatiently aside — "the circles who want to annex Judea and Samaria are not concerned primarily with security. Their motives are ultra-nationalistic ones, in his view. I take him up on that."

Not religious motives? He sees that I am probing at his rabbinical credentials. He confesses: "The truly religious Jew is not enamoured of territories."

"May I make the point," he goes on, "that the Council of Rabbis considers people's lives to be more important than the occupation of land. I know of only one important rabbi in the diaspora who is an out-and-out hawk: the Lubavitcher rebbe."

"I myself am a Belzer hassid," he comments, "and the Belzer rebbe is a dove."

HERTZBERG SHIFTS in his chair and changes his argument. "Let us assume," he proposes, "that they (the Orthodox militants) are right and that we have an indivisible entitlement to all of Eretz Yisrael. So we are fighting a jihad, a holy war."

"Moslem fundamentalists hold the same view in reverse: they, too, are fighting a holy war. The PLO see themselves as an Arab version of Gush Emunim. Between two such attitudes there is no possibility of compromise."

Yet compromise is the name of the game, Judaism to him is embodied in Hillel's dictum, "What is hateful to you, do not do to your neighbor." He recalls another text: "You knew the soul of the sojourners, because you were sojourners in the land of Egypt."

"Have we forgotten our own past?" he pleads. "I wouldn't like to be an Arab sojourning under Israeli rule today, benign as it is. We Jews were begging under the gentiles. Cannot we grant to others what we sought for ourselves?"

He is furious at the distortion by extremists of the gentle philosophy of Judaism: "Those who throw theology around are the Torquemadas of our time." He hammers

at the same theme again: "The worst thing we can do with the politics of the Middle East is — to theologize them."

Bad policies cannot be defended abroad either. He takes a swipe this time at Reaganite right-wingers. "The true friends of Israel are not those conservatives who see us as a sword for hire, but liberal-minded people who believe in Israel's decency and democratic traditions."

"How can I explain to these elements the everyday clash between armed Jewish kids, who have become a force of occupation, and stone-throwing civilian Arab kids?"

OUR INTERVIEW took place before the meeting of Prime Minister Shamir and Defense Minister Arens with President Reagan in Washington. What, I asked, did he expect from that encounter?

"The U.S. authorities are preoccupied with immediate problems," he replied. "They want Israel's help in tripping up the Syrians. This summit between heads of state is intended to provide both sides with a victory. So Shamir will get a short-term 'fix,' and long-term problems will be swept under the carpet."

"Reagan's government will provide more aid than ever before," Hertzberg estimates — "and on easier conditions than ever before. A spirit of harmony will rule for the time being."

But what about the longer future? He repeats that he is not a practicing politician any more so has time to think about what happens after presidential elections; and one such election is imminent now. When the dust settles, he warns, other considerations will acquire importance.

His finger stabs the air: "Prior to elections, all American presidents have promised to move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem. Have they done it? Behind the areas of agreement lie differences. Hertzberg sums them up: "In the long run, no American government can accept the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza because such a measure would mean that the Palestinian problem is insoluble."

Even that is not what bothers him most: "In the long run, I don't worry about the Americans. I worry about the Jews. I worry about what the forcible subjugation of an alien population under our rule is doing to the Jewish character. I worry about the kind of people we are distorted into becoming."

MARTIN GILBERT, the historian, accuses the Israelis of not pressing hard enough for the right of Jews to leave the Soviet Union. Does Rabbi Hertzberg agree with that? He agrees that everything should be done to help Jews out of Russia, though he does not think that more conferences and protests and speeches will do the trick.

But, I remind him, most Russian Jews don't want to settle in Israel; they prefer to become Americans. That aspiration, however, is not exclusive to them — a good many of their Russian co-nationals share it. What right have the Jews to be a special case?

"I was informed by Russian sources in the Seventies that there were at most 200,000 Zionists in the Soviet Union," says Hertzberg. "Many of them are in the Baltic states and other recently annexed territories. If others want to leave, it is because they feel cramped in the Soviet Union."

Cramped? "Persons who studied at Moscow University and rose to senior positions in the Russian state find that they cannot get their children into Moscow University any more, and that the Russians no longer need Jews in responsible positions. The Jew has 'Hebrew' on his identification papers, and the Soviets give preference to non-Hebrews. There is an understandable yearning to depart for freer climes."

"For my part, I just want them out of there, never mind their motives for leaving. If they stay they will evaporate as Jews. In the Western countries the opportunities are different. They will not only be free to study and work as equals, they will also be free to remain Jewish. If exit from Russia means that some of their young people can be saved for yiddishkeit, I'm all for it."

THEN WHAT is wrong with Gilbert's call for more agitation to achieve that end? Says Hertzberg: "I don't think that Soviet decisions to authorize or not authorize emigration from their frontiers have much to do with Jewish pressure. Their policy in this matter is influenced, if anything, by super-power relations. When the situation between America and the USSR deteriorates, the Russians have no reason to let Jews out, no matter what *tumult* (hue and cry) we work up at public meetings."

There is a way to help. It is connected, once again, with the role that Israel ought to be playing in its international relations. The bellicosity of Likud policies exercises an adverse effect not only on Israel's long-term interests, but on the interests of Russian Jewry, too.

"Look at it this way. The Russians will never agree to let us keep the West Bank and Gaza. People think that the Americans may be prevailed upon to give their consent if we offer wholehearted and indiscriminate support to their policies."

"Now I am not a neutralist, far from it. I'm a man of the West. I detest dictatorships. Communist totalitarianism has to be opposed. But it doesn't follow that we Jews must be cheer-leaders in the Cold War."

"If the Soviets let Yosef Begun out, it will not be because of our clamorings, but because they are getting something in return. The fate of the Russian Jews depends on the state of the super-power conflict. If we are able to affect the situation at all, it can only be through the stand we take in that conflict."

Israel finds itself on the opposite side to the Russians because of Russian policies, not because Israel wishes to be against all things Russian. Hertzberg implies that if the attitude of the Jewish state was less fanatic towards the Arabs, it could be less fanatic towards the Soviets, too.

EVEN IMMIGRATION, the subject close to his heart, is affected by the conflict: "The failure of Jews to immigrate includes the walkout of Israelis who decide to go and live elsewhere."

"I have talked to yordim (emigrants from Israel) in New York. One told me that he had left because his wife does not want her children to be shot up by Arabs — which brings us back to what I said at the beginning. Right policies on the part of the Israel government would decrease the shooting."

We conclude with renewed talk about the particular matter which absorbs him most of any, assimilation. We dwell on the tendency that has always existed at the periphery but has now become so widespread — of Jews drifting away from Judaism, to the point of losing their Jewish inheritance altogether.

It is a terrible failure in the community, he intimates — a loss of Jewish purpose. A whole subject has been neglected, the subject of how to make the Jewish people survive. "We haven't put our heads together, we aren't coping with the problem, we have no sense of the danger confronting us."

"All are to blame. Our leadership is at fault, it does not measure up to the size of the terrible challenge we face."

"Ahad Ha'Am once remarked that if a temple is destroyed (which heaven forbid), a people will rebuild it. But if a people is destroyed, who will rebuild the people?"

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

SHABBAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	5.59 p.m.	8.15 p.m.
Tel Aviv	4.17 p.m.	5.17 p.m.
Haifa	4.07 p.m.	5.14 p.m.
Beer Sheva	4.15 p.m.	5.13 p.m.
Eilat	4.20 p.m.	5.21 p.m.

Tora Portion: Vaygash

JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 4.25, Shabbat Shabbat 8, Mincha 4.15, Maariv 5.10

YESHURUN JERUSALEM CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 4.20, Shabbat Shabbat 8, Mincha 4.15, Maariv 5.15

HAZAN ASHER HAINOVITZ

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES

Conservative, 4 Agon, Friday, Mincha 4.20, Shabbat 8.15, Dvar Torah: Rabbi Dr. Yosef Green, Hazan: Dov Kaplan

Hebrew Yabot College, Jewish Institute of Religion, 13 King David St., Saturday morning service at 10 a.m. (Reform)

Har-El Synagogue (Progressive) 16 Shmuel Hanagid, Tel. 02-223841, Friday 5.30 p.m. Shabbat morning 9.30 a.m. Rabbi Tovia Ben-Honi

Italian Synagogue at Museum of Italian Art, 27 Rehov Hillel, Mincha, Friday, 20 min. after candle lighting, Shabbat, Shabbat 8 a.m.

TEL AVIV

Great Synagogue, Tel Aviv, 110 Allenby Rd. Services conducted by a guest cantor, Rami Hamshur before Shabbat Shabbat on theme: "Founding of Talmud Torah, Paving the Way to Settlement," by Synagogue President Avraham Harezi, Mincha 4.40, Shabbat 8.00

CHRIStIAN

JERUSALEM

Redeemer Church (Lutheran) Marwan Rd. Old City, Jerusalem, Sunday Worship 9.00 a.m. Tel. 282543, 289201

Christ Church (Anglican) opp. Citadel, 8 a.m. Holy Communion, 9.30 a.m. Family service, 6.45 p.m. Evening service

Baptist Congregation 4 Narkis, West Jerusalem, Saturday service, Bible study, 9.30 a.m. Worship 10.30 a.m. Tel. 229492

St. Andrew's Church of Scotland, near Railway Station, Sunday Morning service, 10 a.m.

Pentecostal Worship Service, Mt. Zion Fellowship, 7.30 p.m. Fri., Sat., Sun. Tel. 229492

Nazareth, 13 Nahlas, Sun. 10.11, Sun. Wed. 5.30

HAIFA

Elia Church (Lutheran) Haifa, 43 Meir Street, Saturday Service, 11 a.m. Tel. 04-525851

Rei-Hesed Messianic Assembly (local Israeli, 69 Allenby Street, Saturday meeting 5 p.m. Bible Study Wednesday 4 p.m.)

OTHER CENTRES

Baptist Village Congregation, 2 km. north of Petah Tikva, Saturday service, Bible study 9.30 a.m. Worship 10.30 a.m. Tel. 052-22832

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (MORMON CONGREGATIONS)

Jerusalem: 58 Nahlas Road (next to the Ambassador Hotel) Tel. 02-512294

Tel Aviv: 27 Shetel Menache N. Herzlva, 02-512294

Gallilee: 13 Shalom Hamelech St. Tiberias 067-92301

Worship Services each Saturday from 9 a.m. to 12

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GENERAL ASSISTANCE

EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

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Tel Aviv: (day) Mor, 1 Uziel, 440552, Supermarket, Ramat Aviv, (evening) Hakiryas, 19 Ibn Givoli, 226086, Mor, 1 Uziel, 440552, Petah Tikva: Kupat Holim Cholim, Haim Ozer, 905271

Nesanya: Kupat Holim Leumi, 9 Smilansky, 380531

Haifa: Spruzak, 57 Zorafa, 525454, Harman, K. Mozkim, 715136

SATURDAY

Jerusalem: Biku'r Holim (pediatrics, obstetrics, internal, Hadassah Ein Kerem (internal, surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology, E.N.T.), Tel Aviv: Rukah (pediatrics, Ichilov (internal surgery), Nesanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology, surgery)

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THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE CROSSWORD PUZZLE

SOLUTIONS TO TODAY'S PUZZLE NEXT FRIDAY

Homophony By Mary Virginia Orma/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Malesko

ACROSS

1 Risky biz
5 Tyrion
9 Contemporary of Solomon
10 Philadelphia suburb
15 Anjou or Bosc
19 Dolphin's predator
20 Writer Rogers
21 St. Johns
22 Dynal relative
23 River to the Laptev Sea
24 Ariene's puppets?
25 Disney's dance?
27 Impassive
28 Protozoan
30 Singer-actress O'Shea
31 Broadway musical
32 London lane
33 Author Stoker
34 Hoople's rank
37 Personal assurance
38 Four-in-hand kin
42 Dhabli
43 Arab emirate
44 Composer's coin?
47 Peppery
48 — Avty
49 Psalm ending
50 Elizabeth II, to Lady Sarah
51 Lay at anchor
52 Type of eng.
54 Low's title?
58 Symbol of a sort
60 Asset
61 Gore
62 Blag in Kabul
63 Violinist Laredo
64 Debussy's "de lune"
65 Nicholas and Alexander
67 Furthers
68 Star of "The In-Laws"
70 Laments
71 Laying
74 Madison's makeup
76 A Copperfield
77 Marx to Menander
78 "Comus" composer
80 — prose
82 Short word after long
83 Doing poorly
84 Sprite's sensors?
86 January on the links
89 Breathes
91 Carthaginian
92 Dough
94 English architectural style
95 Best seller in 1924
96 Herschfield's "agent"
98 One of six Vatican leaders
101 Pivots
102 Drew or Lester
104 Barlow's "herbage"
106 Sin of one of the Furies?
111 Peak
112 Storehouse
113 Clorify
114 Scenery changer
115 Antarctic sea
116 Univ. divisions
117 Strikes out
118 Gives the once-over
1 Printed cotton
2 Attached
3 Fans' favorites
4 Electrical unit
6 — These Women, 1984
7 Bergman film
8 First president of Czechoslovakia
9 — attorney
11 "The Sheik of —"
12 Pot, in Potomac
13 Off-drawn item
14 School
15 Transfusion
16 Fish dish
17 Prefix for septic or social
18 Demolish
19 Whip marks
20 Rumble
21 Chapeaux armozens
22 Designer Lilly
23 Beethoven's birthplace
24 "Stabat —"
25 A poplar
26 Massenet's marquis?
27 Springe
28 Goupou opera
39 Cecil's streets?
40 Slidestep
41 Cowpoke's charge
44 Fortify again
45 Type of clover
46 Less common
51 Mexican tree dweller
53 Describing armozens
56 Author Nin
57 "Of These —"
58 Tezabel's god
60 One of the Hebrides
64 Unrelenting
65 Edison contemporary
66 Hex
67 — of star-cross'd lovers?; Shak.
68 A Milton who found paradise in TV
69 Choreographer de Mille
70 Chemical suffix
71 Cereal blight
72 Rhone feeder
76 Strip a ship of tackle
78 Put in order
79 African's leather thing
81 Sighting
84 Roles for sopranos
85 Consors
86 Champagne department
87 Isolated
88 Tom and Robert Treat
89 Charge with gas
95 Was dormant
96 Sweeting, e.g.
97 Surpasser
98 Open a bit
99 Art
100 L.A. team
101 Pushover
103 Agile
104 Baritone Hawkins
105 Fiber clusters
107 Summer, in Samur
109 "Whacks work"
110 Buddy

DOWN

1 Repairs the lawn
2 Low trick: Sort
3 A feature of this puzzle

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

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KICK THE HABIT!

Make today your first of many smoke-free days

Tuning in to Judaism

By JUDY SIEGEL-ITZKOVICH/Jerusalem Post Reporter



Dr. Hertz Fishman

(Zoom 77)

IF ONE of the 115 Jews in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, wants to know how to sing a Hebrew lullaby to her baby, or one of the 315 Jews in Fort Dodge, Iowa, wonders how to build a *succa*, where can she or he turn for help?

Given the isolation of small American Jewish communities, the mediocre state of Jewish education and observance, and the lack of group support for many who want to maintain a Jewish identity, the chances for getting first-hand answers are poor.

Dr. Hertz Fishman, a veteran educator and a member of the Zionist Executive, has proposed an idea to promote Jewish values, experiences and practice among the hundreds of thousands of Diaspora Jews who lack resources of their own.

The American-born Fishman proposes the encouragement — from Jerusalem — of the establishment of hundreds of *havurot*. First established in Boston during the '60s, these sociological units of young Jews were formed in order to share Jewish experiences. Today, there are several hundred throughout the U.S., meeting in private homes or community centres every few weeks for lectures, study and Jewish celebrations.

But Fishman notes that the 60s-style *havurot* were concerned mostly with their own participants. "Their members were not necessarily committed to a distinctive Jewish home lifestyle or to a systematic pattern of home Jewish education for their children."

Fishman advocates an "ideological *havura*," in which members are committed as families to a system of specific beliefs and norms. These include being part of a worldwide, interrelated, mutually responsible network of *havurot* aimed at helping to reconstitute the body polity of Jewish peoplehood; recognizing the centrality of Israel; adopting a daily home lifestyle that emphasizes Jewish culture, practices and values; and raising children in accordance with this ideology of Jewish survival.

THE PROPOSAL comes at a critical time for Diaspora Jewry. "The great bulk of young Jewish parents lack meaningful Jewish education," notes Fishman, "and they have not had intense or satisfying experiences of Jewish living."

Consequently, they are not able to transmit a convincing Jewish heritage to their children.

In addition, "many Jews find that the groups and organizations to which they belong are large and, in most cases, impersonal... Since much of

our lives involves an ongoing quest for affection, participation, recognition and individual fulfillment," the *havura* — as small and homogeneous groups — can provide an answer.

Fishman, who officially represents the Conservative Movement on the Zionist Executive but has

been without a portfolio in the nearly two years that he has been on the Executive, presented the idea to WZO chairman Arye Dulin. The plan, as he envisages it, involves the establishment of a "division of family education" to promote the establishment of *havurot*.

Dulin accepted his detailed proposal, and offered him a small budget. Fishman neither sought nor received a salary, but he did request a small allocation so that he could get the project off the ground.

But the other groups on the Executive that do not have departmental portfolios immediately protested and demanded their own divisions. Dulin backed off under the pressure, but did appoint Fishman his "adviser on Jewish family education" and approved his allocation as a part of the chairman's office budget.

DESPITE the change in title, Fishman is going ahead with his idea.

Once *havurot* are established, their initiators are asked to contact Fishman and indicate the nature of the Jewish and general background of the members, their occupations, ages, local Jewish affiliations and the ages of their children. They should also provide a list of some of the key Jewish leaders in the community who may be of help in nurturing the *havura* and a list of Jewish institutions and activities in the area.

On a recent trip to the U.S., Fishman met with leaders of a large number of national American Jewish organizations, and won their approval to sponsor the establishment of *havurot*.

Each organization — about 25 in all — will fund a few pilot units, seek suitable people among its members, and then help them form *havurot*.

"We are not interested in competing with existing organizations. Rather, we want to work with them," says Fishman. In addition, all existing *havurot* (there are lists of some of them) will be invited to join the network on condition that they recognize and accept the ideological principles outlined by Fishman.

Each *havura* will be autonomous. It may comprise one generation or include many generations. Some of the activities of the *havurot* may include:

- Giving their children Hebrew first names, singing or playing Hebrew melodies to their infants, telling them Jewish bedtime stories, playing games involving Jewish motifs, relating episodes of Israel's rebirth, using Hebrew expressions and playing Hebrew records and cassettes, celebrating the Sabbath, Jewish holidays and *havdala* and obtaining a Jewish and Zionist library;
- Group study of Jewish and Zionist sources and discussion of issues affecting the Jewish people and the State of Israel;
- Active individual and group participation in local Jewish affairs;
- Contributing to Jewish educational and charitable institutions, and to Israeli institutions chosen by the *havura*;
- Individual study of classical Jewish works, subscription to Jewish publications;
- Assumption by each *havura* family in rotation of responsibility for a phase of the group's life, like activities for children, for teenagers, family outings, charity, liaison with Jewish organizations, etc.;

FISHMAN SAYS that this set up will help the increasing number of Jewish families with only one or two children, where both parents pursue professional careers and leave children in day-care centres and single-parent families who cannot manage to transmit Judaism to their children on their own. Having other couples and families at hand who share similar values can be of great help.

Much of Fishman's budget will be used to locate written and audio-visual materials available for the specific needs of *havurot* abroad (he wants to establish them not only in the U.S., but throughout the Diaspora), or to produce materials in areas where they are not available. These materials would be sold, at a low price, to the *havurot* which ordered them.

Fishman believes that chairman of the various departments in the World Zionist Organization will not view him as a "threat," but rather welcome him, since *havurot* will be able to serve as a steady clientele for material that they produce,

sometimes without an actual need in the communities.

He expects to use existing WZO emissaries for promoting *havurot*, and to brief those who will in future be sent out about the importance of Jewish family education.

NOT CONTENT with founding *havurot* only in the Diaspora, Fishman is interested in promoting a different kind of *havura* in Israel, seemingly a much more difficult job, since the needs are much different and Israel's time is more limited.

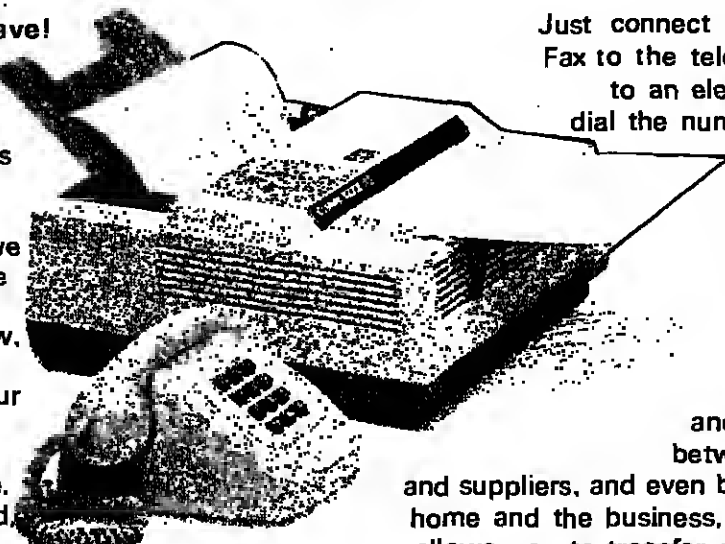
"I have tested the idea in kibbutzim and elsewhere, and the response was very positive. I'm concerned with promoting value oriented Zionism. We have pragmatic citizenship in Israel, but not enough peoplehood. Israel *havurot* could work for the quality of life, fight alienation and organize family trips," says Fishman with enthusiasm.

It seems like an uphill battle, but Hertz Fishman — a true believer — is determined to fight his ideas until they reach fruition.

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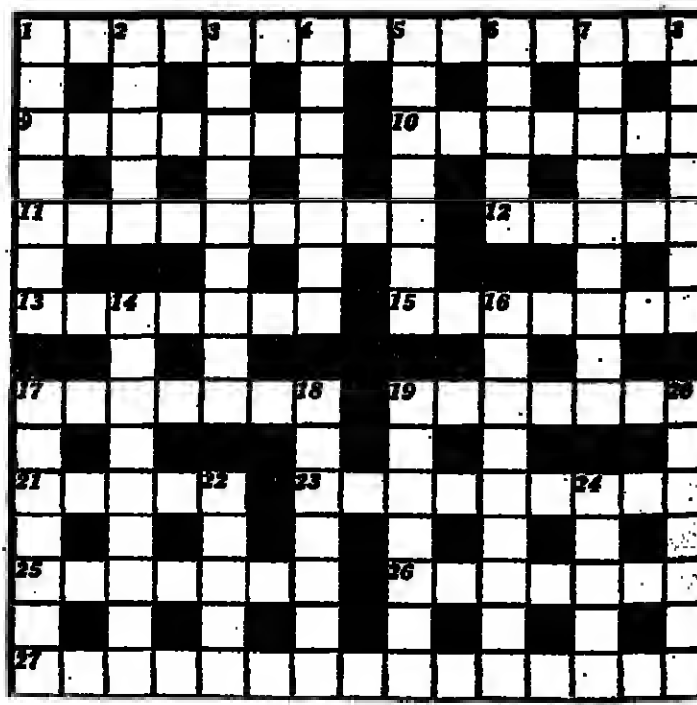
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TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

Cryptic

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.



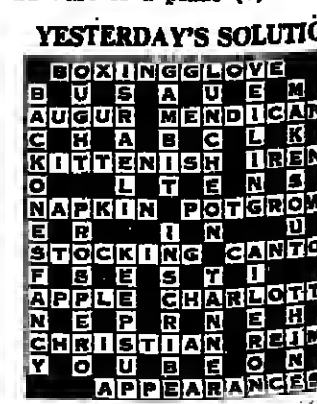
- ACROSS**
- 1 Open a newspaper to find what was got from sale of this take-away (4, 3, 4, 4)
 - 2 Kill a monarch committing such a crime (7)
 - 3 Rewrite a book not so long afterwards (7)
 - 4 Teachers for pretty large pieces of land (9)
 - 5 The final tests sportsmen must pass to participate in it (5)
 - 6 They love us not to pose a potential threat (7)
 - 7 Vehicles that travel under water that's very cold (7)
 - 8 Promises to be solemn (7)
 - 9 Beetles; those who built pyramids for their worshippers (7)
 - 10 They're bound to put us under restraint (5)
 - 11 Set to make a sound translation of this BBC production (5, 4)
 - 12 He's easily able to fill in his time at work (7)
 - 13 Talked to someone of little consequence (7)
 - 14 One carrying a rack to hurt soldiers? (8-6)

- DOWN**
- 1 It's the disagreeable duty of the army to wear one out (7)
 - 2 Rider heroine for Queen? Has no inclination to be (5)
 - 3 Returning to "Any Questions?" (9)
 - 4 They're too important to see that they have a good time (7)
 - 5 People who don't live for their cars (7)
 - 6 Enter by going through this door at the far end (5)
 - 7 A grey hand-shake? That's a bloomer! (8)
 - 8 They turn from such printed matter, perhaps (7)
 - 9 A drink in the morning produces enlightenment—that's surprising (5-6)
 - 10 Give more information on something complicated (9)
 - 11 Might the military show it off with them? Indeed! (7)
 - 12 Drag out the prisoner doing it vulgarly (7)
 - 13 Cocktail stick—one on a bike, maybe! (7)
 - 14 This pole on the top of a medieval bank, for instance (7)
 - 15 Change a chemise (5)
 - 16 Takes part in a move to stop resting! (5)

'Quickie'

- ACROSS**
- 1 Shakespeare play (5, 10)
 - 2 One under instruction (7)
 - 3 Type of show (7)
 - 4 Robs of liberty (9)
 - 5 Smack, or flavour (5)
 - 6 They carry off excess liquid (7)
 - 7 Religious speeches (7)
 - 8 Marks made by folding (7)
 - 9 Pillars (7)
 - 10 Made a memorandum of (5)
 - 11 Large reptile (9)
 - 12 Exaggerate in a play (7)
 - 13 Fit for consumption (7)
 - 14 Drastic steps (7, 8)
- DOWN**
- 1 Recounting (7)
 - 2 A vagrant (5)
 - 3 They stand guard (9)
 - 4 Worried and on edge (7)
 - 5 Meals (7)
 - 6 Time of darkness (5)
 - 7 Place for pupils (9)
 - 8 Artists' models (7)

- 14 It is given to the ill (9)
- 15 Lowers in status (9)
- 16 Help one in sorrow (7)
- 17 Sudden surprise (7)
- 18 Educational Institute (7)
- 19 Films shown on them (7)
- 20 Great sailor (5)
- 21 Part of a plant (5)



QUICK SOLUTION

ACROSS: 1. Allowed, 5. Mule, 10. Haven, 12. Kitten, 14. Pencil, 15. Medium, 16. 22. Rascal, 17. Ideal, 18. Lured, 19. Trench, 20. 1. Aphid, 2. Leveret, 3. Whip, 4. Depend, 5. Narrete, 6. Stop, 7. Success, 8. Amulet, 9. Elder, 10. Drive, 11. Milan.

Identity crisis of Cyprus

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH/Nicosia

lages, express instinctive alarm when the prospect of coming under Greek rule again is mooted. Even if a future federal arrangement is achieved between Greek and Turkish states on the island, as the Turkish Cypriots propose, movement across the line would be carefully controlled, according to Foreign Minister Kenan Atakol. "There are lots of murderers on the Greek side," he said.

Greek Cypriots readily acknowledge the excesses of EOKA-B, the militant Greek Cypriot organization that spearheaded the campaign against the Turkish Cypriots before the invasion of the Turkish army in 1974 and partition of the island. They say, however, that the Turkish side was guilty of excesses too, and that the mainland Turks harbour ambitions of conquering the entire island.

The Greek Cypriots are angered at having close to 40 per cent of the country — the most productive part — taken by 20 per cent of the population and their refusal to concede that partition is final. Between the lines, however, there is a sense of helplessness about reversing the situation. The Turkish army is closer to Cyprus than the Greek army, and more powerful.

BY THIS November negotiations had been going on for seven years to find some way of having a unified country that at the same time gives rights to the Turkish Cypriots as a community, not just as individuals. For the Turkish Cypriots, this meant an autonomous, defensible enclave and equal political powers on major federal issues, despite numerical inferiority.

Convinced that agreement with the Greek Cypriots was impossible, Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş invited the 40 members of his legislative assembly to his home for a late dinner on the night of November 14 and announced that he would move the next day to establish a new state — the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

There was considerable hesitation for fear that economic sanctions by the international community against the breakaway state would make it totally dependent on Turkey. Left-wing opposition parties discussed the question all night but in the morning the vote for independence was unanimous.

Denktaş had called in the Turkish ambassador before going to the assembly in the morning to inform him of the pending act. As soon as the ambassador had passed on the message to Ankara, the Turkish Cypriots cut telephone and telex communications with the outside world to avoid pressures until

independence had been declared.

A MEASURE of cooperation still exists between the two sides. The Greeks, who have the only power stations, provide all electricity to the Turks' state — partly in exchange for water provided to the Greek side of Nicosia and partly out of fear that the Turkish armed forces would knock out the power plants if the Turkish Cypriot sector were blacked out.

Each morning, a United Nations officer crossing no-man's-land between the Greek and Turkish parts of Nicosia carries stacks of newspapers from one side to the other. Within minutes, Turkish Cypriot Information Ministry officials are reading the Greek papers from across town and their counterparts in Greek Nicosia are reading the Turkish papers.

The daily routine parallels the exchange of Jordanian and Israeli newspapers each morning on Alleeby Bridge. Likewise, the evening news bulletins in Turkish on Greek Cypriot television and in Greek from the Turkish station is an echo of the language-reversal by Israel and Jordan TV every evening.

To a visitor from Israel, the Turkish-Greek dispute is a mirror image, only slightly distorted, of the Israeli-Arab dispute in many of its physical and emotional characteristics.

THE ALMOST total lack of political empathy between the two sides is also reminiscent of the Arab-Israeli dispute. Both protagonists dig in behind their grievances and choose to see no justice in the dark forces across the border. In Turkish Nicosia, prominent signs point to the Museum of Barbarism, dedicated to Greek atrocities. The Greek side provides visitors with extensive literature on Turkish atrocities. The words Enosis and EOKA are rarely seen on the Greek side anymore. But they can still be seen on the Turkish side scrawled on walls of villages which formerly had Greek residents — partly because the peasants are too poor to paint the walls, partly because the Turkish Cypriot authorities are not unhappy about perpetuating reminders of Greek militancy.

Although both sides strenuously woo the Arab world for economic reasons, the random mention of Israel generally draws a surprisingly friendly response.

"People think Israelis are a war-loving people, but they're the opposite," says a young Turkish Cypriot government official in Nicosia who spent several months on Kibbutz Ramat Hakovesh as a volunteer a decade ago. "I went to find out the secret of their per-

sistence and determination. I found that what made them strong was not that they were warlike, but that they were human and civilized. The Israelis know the Arabs better than the Arabs know themselves."

The official recalled watching on Israel TV the visit of then German chancellor Willy Brandt to Yad Vashem. "He cried there because he repented. The Greeks haven't repented. Sure, terrible things happened in history, and the Turks did terrible things too. But to put them behind you, the guilty party has to repent."

In Famagusta on the east coast, a Turkish businessman, hearing the Israeli inflation rate mentioned as he joined a conversation, said, "Sure they have inflation. They're fighting the whole Arab world. And they never lose."

He recalled watching Jewish "illegal" immigrants captured by the British being off-loaded in Famagusta port after World War II and taken to an internment camp outside the town. "I remember them marching off the ship singing all together. People on the walls [of Famagusta's Old City] threw them oranges. One man who obviously never saw one before tried to eat one with the peel."

Pointing to a snack bar beneath the city wall at which people were waiting for a ferry to the Turkish mainland, he recalled a British army lorry parked there and the cry of a baby coming from the back, where a Jewish refugee was giving birth moments after being taken off the boat.

Inside the walls was an arcaded one-storey building that had been a British storehouse to which Jewish refugees would be brought from their camp to pick up supplies.

"My father had a shoe store just across the street," said the businessman. "Some of the Jews who were shoemakers would come in for materials. I remember the numbers on their arms. One day just after the war, when there were still German P.O.W.s here, the British made a mistake and brought a group of prisoners to the warehouse just as a group of Jewish refugees was arriving. A tremendous fight broke out and the British then made sure they brought them on different days."

He recalled that a friend who had been seriously hurt in falling off a horse was treated by a Jewish surgeon who was an inmate of the camp.

ISRAEL HAS a consulate in Nicosia and there are a few Jewish families living in Cyprus, but there is no Jewish community as such. Twenty or 30 years ago, when Cyprus was as far "overseas" as most Israelis could afford to travel, it was a fairly popular vacation spot for people from here, many of whom went to buy steam irons and record players — the luxury items of the day. Some Cypriots still recall with awe the Descent of the Israeli Shopper. Some stores in Nicosia put up signs in Hebrew. Today, relatively few Israelis visit the country, although it is a popular spot for British people seeking Mediterranean beaches and Gulf Arabs seeking escape from the summer heat in the island's mountains.

Heavy gains on small turnover

TEL AVIV. — Yesterday's action in the share market marked a superb finish to the week. The profit-taking for several sessions was sufficiently moderate to encourage individual speculators and portfolio managers to enter buy orders which led to sharply rising prices.

Gains of up to 10 per cent were seen in all sectors of equity trading, except for commercial and mortgage bank issues.

For commercial bank stocks that were part of the agreement with the Treasury, it was another frustrating session as their prices declined by up to two per cent. The bank and mortgage bank issues outside of the agreement, performed smartly, with gains of up to 8.9 per cent, as was the case with First International Bank.

Along the way, 24 securities that are registered as "buyers-only" while only one single security entered the "sellers-only" list. Moreover, there were no fewer than 13 securities which advanced by more than five per cent. Only nine securities were down by more than five per cent.

Trading turnovers were just below the IS\$35m. mark. However, turnovers included only IS\$193m. of trading in non-banking issues. It was obvious to all concerned that the public continued to abstain from re-entering the market.

Trading activity in the index-bond market continued to be the very moderate side as off \$45m. changed hands. However, quiet trading conditions were accompanied by broad advances in various index-linked bonds.

The gains varied between 3 and 3.0 per cent. The shekel was valued by \$4 agorot in relation to the American dollar.

In the mortgage bank group the "Binyan Bubbler" did not burst, as expected. After two consecutive sessions of being registered "sellers-only," the Binyan shares had been rocked for a loss of 10 per cent.

However, yesterday's downside damage was limited to the comparatively minor loss of only 10 per cent. The Tefahot Mortgage Issues

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By JOSEPH MÖRGENSTERN

were down by somewhat more than four per cent.

The specialized financial institutions equities participated in the general market rise. Clal Leasing 0.1 and Agricultural pref. were both 10 per cent higher.

There was little to complain about in the positive price action witnessed in the insurance group which advanced by 3.2 per cent. Hadar 1 was up by 10 per cent while Phoenix 0.5 was nine per cent higher.

The services and trade issues followed suit. Ten per cent gains were carved out by Deltek, both Lighterage shares, both Cold Storage stocks, Clal Computers and Nikuv Computers. There were very few losers.

The land development, real estate and citrus plantation issues were even stronger. Amnionim was 10 per cent to the good while its attendant option zipped ahead by 15 per cent, during the morning session. Ten per cent gains were picked up by Drucker 5, HLB 5, Bayside 0.5, Israel Citrus Plantations 0.1, Hadarim Properties, Caesarea 0.1 and Shenhar.

Industrials were in good demand and represented the second strongest group of shares on yesterday's market place. Alliance was up 10.1 per cent Elbit was unchanged

as Elron gained 2.1 per cent. Aris was unchanged while Ata C continued its winning ways and rose by 5.6 per cent. Deha-Galil 3 advanced by a full 10 per cent. The Delta-Galil option rose by 28 points but this represented a percentage advance of 55 per cent. Israel Can 5 rose by 9.1 per cent as both Lodzia issues were advancing by margins of 10 per cent each. The Dead Sea Works were 7.7 per cent higher. At 1268, the price of this premier share high represents a recent recovery.

Investment company issues attracted the spotlight as being the single strongest group of shares. Piron, which announced a 100 per cent bonus share distribution, saw its shares rise by 10 per cent, for the second consecutive session. Pama 0.5 was also among the 10 per cent winners, as was Leumi Investments. The best performance to the group came from Clal 50 which sprang ahead by 15 per cent. The Clal 10 shares were "buyers-only" for the second consecutive session.

The Clal Israel option soared by no less than 76 per cent to 255. Clal Industries was 6.2 per cent higher, the Israel Corp. 1 shares picked up 8.8 per cent.

Meir Ezra and Son (1980) Ltd. announced that its first time ever financing issue was slightly more than fully subscribed.

Discount Bank announced that its efforts to sell its shareholding in Alaska-Sportlife to MIF Glico have been terminated. It confirmed that some of the mutual funds are holding substantial positions in Alaska.

STEVEDORES

(Continued from Page One)

Ashdod port for nine development towns and five Druse villages in the north on Sunday, and the second shipment will leave Ashdod on Monday for 10 development towns to the South.

The Board has also decided to give the Zahavi organization, which deals with families with many children, two carloads of fruit. Each carload will contain 7,500 crates, and each crate will weigh about 18 kilograms.

Shipments of cotton valued at \$10 million are being delayed in the ports, the Cotton Production and Marketing Board announced yesterday.

"Not only have we received complaints from our buyers abroad, but our reputation as a punctual supplier is being wrecked," the board announced.

The avocado growers meanwhile have appealed to the ministries of finance and agriculture, and to Agrexco, to provide air transport over the week so they can fly 100 tons of avocados to meet commitments to European importers.

The Treasury reacted with "no comment" to reports yesterday that Finance Minister Cohen-Orgad had proposed on Wednesday to Prime Minister Shamir to use soldiers to load produce onto ships. Privately, however, Treasury officials said that the reports were "not serious."

The seamen's unions said last night that they would do everything in their power, including shutting down the harbours, to foil what they called the "militaristic attitude" of the government to use the army to break the strike.

They said they were "shocked and revolted" by the reports that the government was contemplating such a step.

Shipping circles expressed doubt about the army's ability to do the stevedores' work.

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Emergency Meeting for All Insurance Brokers and Agents

Due to the attempts by the Insurance Companies to initiate one-sided and unfair decisions in the elementary insurance branch, which will have serious consequences for insurance clients and the status of insurance agents, an emergency meeting of brokers and agents is being held to consider this problem.

The meeting will be held on Monday, December 12, 1983 at 3 p.m. at the B'nai B'rith hall, 10 Rehov Kaplan, Tel Aviv.

INSURANCE AGENTS CONCERNED WITH THE WELFARE OF THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY AND IN THEIR OWN FUTURES, MUST ATTEND THE MEETING.

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COUNTRY CURRENCY		CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS	BANKNOTES
		PURCHASE SALE	PURCHASE SALE
USA	DOLLAR	1 97.98%	98.4724
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GERMANY	MARK	1 11.8114	11.9301
NETHERLANDS	GULDEN	1 12.0168	12.3386
SWITZERLAND	FRANC	1 44.8763	45.3274
AUSTRIA	KRONA	1 12.2270	12.3499
SPAIN	PESETA	1 12.7996	12.9283
ITALY	LIRE	1 9.8412	9.9836
GREECE	DRACHMA	1 16.7947	16.9633
PORTUGAL	ESCUDO	1 20.3681	20.5998
ARGENTINA	PESO	1 88.5963	89.4868
BRAZIL	CROSS	1 80.7878	81.5998
INDONESIA	RUPIAH	1 17.8743	17.8322
THAILAND	BAHT	1 50.8994	51.4009
YEMEN	RIYAL	1 59.2499	59.8454
YEMEN	RIYAL	1 419.6471	423.8647
YEMEN	RIYAL	1 413.3100	420.1900

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AMERICAN ISRAEL BANK LTD.

FOREIGN CURRENCY EXCHANGE RATES

Yesterday's foreign exchange rates against the Israeli Shekel, for U.S. dollar transactions under \$5,000 and transactions of other currencies, under the equivalent of \$500.

Selling		Buying	
US\$	98.9730	97.9874	
DM	142.4221	141.0008	
FF	15.8204	16.2429	
FRF	11.8288	11.8078	
Swiss FR	45.2717	44.8206	
Swedish KR	12.3639	12.2407	
Norwegian KR	12.8324	12.8046	
Danish KR	8.8844	8.8849	
Finnish MK	18.8676	18.7997	
Canadian \$	79.5571	78.7545	
Australian \$	89.4884	88.5953	
Rand	81.8280	80.8181	
Belgian C (10)	17.8555	17.6778	
Belgian F (10)	17.8124	17.4370	
Austrian S (10)	51.3745	50.8628	
Yen (100)	42.3776	41.9555	
Italian Lira (1000)	59.8024	59.2088	

GOLD: \$402.50/402.403.00.

INTERBANK SPOT RATES:

US\$	1.4373/83	per \$
DM	2.7327/27	per \$
Swiss FR	2.1855/55	per \$
FRF	6.2990/90	per \$
Italian Lira	188.78/78	per \$
Dutch G	3.0603/03	per \$
Yen	235.45/45	per \$
Onion KR	9.9115/15	per \$
Swedish KR	8.0040/40	per \$
Norwegian KR	7.8513/13	per \$

FORWARD RATES:

1 month	3 month	6 month
S.F. 1.4383/35	1.4397/10	1.4420/438
DM 2.7422/22	2.7070/72	2.6809/823
S.F. 1.2145/70	1.2140/35	1.2125/243

Commercial Banks

Stocking price	Volume	Change	% change
IDA p	81110	n.e.	
IDB p	3545	1136	-60 -1.7
IDB A	3660	7	n.e.
Dab p A	2500	2	n.e.
IDB p 11	2511	97	-24 -9
Union Q1	2654	308	-54 -2.0
Discount Br	4620	29	-90 -1.9
Discount A r	4545	107	-90 -1.9
Discount B c	3620	39	n.e.
Discount B c 2	550	122	n.e.
Mizrahi r	1475	1651	-15 -1.0
Mizrahi b	1460	5	-30 -2.0
Mizrahi p 11	2540	180	-30 -1.2
Mizrahi p 12	985	314	-2
Mizrahi p 9	685	209	-13 -1.9
Mizrahi p 10	247	102	-12 -5.1
Maritime 0.5	158	h.o.t.	+7 +5.0
Hapoalim p	2120	-	-62 -2.0
Hapoalim r	2413	4133	-35 -1.4
Hapoalim b	2413	541	-35 -1.4
Hapoalim p 15	1457	315	-70 -1.5
Hapoalim c 8	9070	3	n.e.
General A	6290	21	n.e.
General p 6	3250	-	-450 -1.4
General p 8	14650	3	+15 +0.1
General p 9	5925	3	+25 +4.2
General c 5	4797	-	n.e.
General c 7	303	198	+4 +1.3
Leumi 0.1	1534	4609	-25 -1.5
Leumi p 13	1960	1713	-100 -2.5
Leumi p 9	328	100	-100 -2.7
Leumi p 11	264	113	-10 -1.7
OHR r	1100	15	-40 -3.5
Finance Trade 1	2110	3	-20 -9
Finance Trade 5	1115	5	-10 -0.9
Leumi p 10	1830	27	+10 +0.6
N. American 1	2672	36	n.e.
N. American 5	1788	46	n.e.
N. Am. p 1	1030	323	n.e.
Danot 5	406	7	+30 +7.5
Danot 2	277	39	-1
Fin. Int'l 5	331	933	-27 -8.9
FTB	734	23	+8.1

Land, Real Estate, Citrus

Stocking price	Volume	Change	% change
Oren	164	78	+9 +5.6
Oren p 1	122	5	n.e.
Azoria Prop.	180	783	+9 +5.3
Azoria r	157	984	+12 +8.6
Azoria p D	216	40	+11 +5.4
Azoria p E	52	35	+4 +7.7
Elron	31	35	+4 +7.7
Elron p 1	32	5	+1 +3.2
Amnionim 1	264	32	+24 +10.0
Amnionim p	92	160	+12 +15.0
Amnionim p 10	161	11	-12 -7.5
Africa Int. 1.0	105	11	-12 -7.5
Africa Int. 2	3800	1	-50 -1.3
Azaria	99	23	-2 -2.0
Azaria p	68	41	n.e.
Aradon p	355	104	+157 +5.0
Aradon 0.5	140	223	n.e.
Aradon p 1	115	10	+10 +8.7
Ben Yakar 1	238	-	+8 +3.5
Ben Yakar p	115	10	+10 +8.7
Baranowitz 1	101	153	+5 +5.0
Baranowitz p	75	415	+5 +5.0
Baranowitz p 1	545	51	+2 +0.4
Dankner 1	105	26	+5 +5.0
Drucker 1	235	114	+10 +4.4
Drucker p	109	646	+10 +10.1
Drucker p 1	46	213	+7 +3.6
Darad 0.1	215	5	n.e.
Darad 0.5	140	15	+10 +7.1
Darad 0.2	155	40	+5 +3.3

Mortgage Banks

Stocking price	Volume	Change	% change
Adonim 0.1	910	11	+10 +1.1
Gen. Mortgage	1354	4	-2 -0.2
Gen. Mortgage	1354	4	-2 -0.2
Carmel r	1575	11	n.e.
Carmel p	448	15	+8 +1.0
Carmel p 1	140	2	n.e.
Bizyon	1500	12	-17 -1.0
DevMortgage r	910	22	n.e.
DevMortgage p	950	-	n.e.
DevMortgage p 1	389	56	n.e.
DevMortgage p 2	268	-	n.e.
Mishkan b	2685	1	n.e.
Independence	1450	39	-20 -1.4
Tefahot p 1	1310	2	-60 -4.8
Tefahot p 2	1245	19	-65 -5.2
Tefahot p 3	2570	4	-150 -5.5
Tefahot p 4	511	-	n.e.
Tefahot p 5	183	420	n.e.
Tefahot p 6	290	2	n.e.
Tefahot p 7	208	23	0.6
Tefahot p 8	105	194	+4 +4.0
Tefahot p 9	228	93	n.e.

Financial Institutions

Stocking price	Volume	Change	% change
Shilon r	145	287	n.e.
Shilon p 1	837	-	n.e.
Leumi Ind r	776	12	-3 -0.4
Leumi Ind p	786	-	n.e.
Leumi Ind p 1	101	10	+10 +10.0
Leumi Ind p 2	9150	-	+850 +10.0
Leumi Ind p 3	7355	2	+155 +2.2
Leumi Ind p 4	234	98	+7 +3.0
Leumi Ind p 5	174	40	+2 +1.2
Leumi Ind p 6	325	8	+20 +6.2
Leumi Ind p 7	650	4	+0.10 +0.1

Insurance

Hadr 5	109	250	+3	
Hadr op 1	—	—	—	
Hadr 5 r	305	471	n.e.	
Hadr 5 op 4	225	—	n.e.	
Phocim r	475	20	+63	
Phocim 0.5	485	5	+40	
Humishmar 1	402	21	n.e.	
Humishmar 5	398	12	n.e.	
Humishmar op	536	7	+56	
Yardenia 0.1 r	288	—	n.e.	
Yardenia 0.5 r	95	174	n.e.	
Yardenia op 2	—	—	—	
Menorah	930	38	+70	
Menorah 5	179	30	n.e.	
Sahar r	1300	7	n.e.	
Securitas r	187	277	+12	
Zur r	1100	35	n.e.	
Zur Hold.1	430	22	n.e.	

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

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Tevet 3, 5744 • Rabia-Awwal 3, 1404

Untimely quarrel

ON THE FACE of it, the vocal disagreement between Deputy Premier David Levy and Premier Yitzhak Shamir is over the question whether Mr. Levy should, or should not, be allowed to exchange the housing and construction for the foreign affairs portfolio currently held by Mr. Shamir. In fact it is over Mr. Levy's unacknowledged desire to be the next premier himself.

Mr. Levy lost out to Mr. Shamir after Menachem Begin bowed out. But the deputy premier's vaulting ambition, though set back, has not been extinguished. Although he has made a name for himself in housing and construction, Mr. Levy plainly feels that a more prestigious ministry would serve him better as a launching pad in advance of the next Knesset elections.

Yet his new position must not be such as to pose too daunting a challenge — which is no doubt why he spurned the offer of the Treasury before Yigal Cohen-Orad snapped it up. Mr. Levy is not one to take undue risks.

In any case, Mr. Levy claims that he had the promise of foreign affairs when Mr. Shamir formed his cabinet two months ago. "Sources close to the premier" stoutly deny the claim, but the denial need not be taken too seriously. It is more reasonable to assume that Mr. Shamir has simply changed his mind about a promotion for his deputy that would involve a surrender of some of his own prerogatives.

Now that he is no longer viewed as a mere "transition premier" Mr. Shamir is anxious to build a power base for himself. There is certainly no reason for him to assist a rival such as Mr. Levy to accumulate power.

To be sure, Mr. Shamir must want Mr. Levy in the cabinet, for the one-time Beit Shean politico can carry with him, or so it is alleged, most of the North African community. But he must also want him down. The humiliation caused to the deputy premier by the chief's failure to report to him on the progress of the talks in Washington last week can only have been deliberate. Mr. Levy's angry response to this humiliation could well have been foreseen. But now the deputy premier may also be branded as a splitter who raises the spectre of a Labour-like internal rift within Herut ranks.

To the public at large, the most relevant issue is nevertheless Mr. Levy's fitness to be foreign minister. Mr. Shamir is said to believe that he lacks the necessary professional qualifications, and the overwhelming majority of Israelis agree. But this could change if Mr. Levy were given a chance to prove his mettle. The example of Ernest Bevin, a great British foreign secretary, although an enemy of Zionism, is a warning to all those who look down their noses at untutored former union leaders.

Sheer professionalism is not everything. There is also the little matter of intelligence and ability. In the past Mr. Levy has shown himself to be both intelligent and able. For a time he even served a useful role as a guardian of the cabinet's conscience on foreign affairs and security. He, more than any other minister, stood up to Ariel Sharon during the Lebanese war, and he was the only cabinet member to voice reservations about the employment of the Phalange in "cleaning up" Palestinian refugee camps.

More recently, however, Mr. Levy has offered evidence suggesting that his earlier conduct may not have been more than a momentary aberration. Attempting to prove attachment to Herut doctrine, he has been pushing the cause of settlement in Samaria even at a time of financial stringency. And in open defiance of the premier he hastened to sound the tocsin about an imminent Syrian attack on Israel.

On balance, then, it is by no means certain that Mr. Levy's appointment as foreign minister, quite apart from its wider national significance would be an improvement on the existing situation.

Positive trend

THE STATEMENT by five leading Arabs of East Jerusalem and the West Bank condemning Tuesday's terror bombing of a Jerusalem bus is most welcome, even if it equates that outrage with "violence against civilians" in Ein Hilwe and Nabulus. True, the initiative for the statement came from an Israeli Jew, a member of the left-wing New Outlook movement. But the decision to publish it in the Arabic press was that of the five Arab leaders themselves.

Their action suggests a break with the old Palestinian practice of trying to excuse plainly inexcusable crimes against Israeli civilians by the PLO. Responding, in effect, to Premier Yitzhak Shamir's mocking comment in the Knesset, after the bombing, on the PLO's "moderation," the five appear to be saying: "Please do not tar us with that brush." Mr. Shamir, in fact, yesterday welcomed their statement as a "positive trend."

The five have not broken with the PLO — indeed they continue to support its "legitimate leadership." They do not denounce the organization itself, professing to believe that it could not possibly, despite its own acknowledgment, have sanctioned Monday's murderous attack.

Nevertheless these five persons, who include two deposed mayors, represent a group among the Palestinians that is open to a dialogue on peaceful coexistence with Israel, based on the premise of the essential separateness of the two nations. Strangely, it is this very group that is being systematically harassed and hounded by Israel's military government.

TERRORISM AND DIPLOMACY

By DAVID BERNSTEIN

LAST TUESDAY'S bomb outrage in Jerusalem could conceivably have been just another example of the sporadic terror Israel has endured for most of the past two decades; more devastating than anything the city has known for the past five years, but nonetheless no more significant than any of the others.

But its timing, at a critical point in the history of the PLO, which has claimed responsibility for the blast, may not have been incidental, and the incident itself could mark the start of a new phase in the enduring PLO-Israel struggle.

PLO chairman Yasser Arafat is on the point of leaving Lebanon, ignominiously, for the second time in less than 18 months, driven out of his last stronghold in Tripoli by Syrian-backed rebels in his own organization. It is reminiscent of his predicament in August last year, when he was driven out of Beirut by Israel.

Arafat has managed to survive his latest ordeal, at least physically, but he is now on the threshold of a struggle to rebuild his battered credibility as worthy leader of an effective PLO.

He embarks upon that struggle with considerable credit, far more than might have been expected coming to a man so severely mauled twice over the past 18 months.

His popular appeal among Palestinians, both in the administered areas and in the refugee camps of Lebanon, remains remark-

ably untarnished, driving home the point — again, for the second time in 18 months — that there is no direct correlation between his military might and his claim to leadership of the Palestinian cause.

But he cannot hope to count on that indefinitely, and he is going to have to, in the months ahead, work hard to parlay his popular appeal into undisputed leadership of the PLO, as yet the only broadly acknowledged voice of Palestinian nationalism.

THE BOMB blast in Jerusalem could conceivably have been Arafat's first move in his upcoming struggle to heal the rift in the PLO and to repay the political debt he owes to those PLO leaders who continued to support his leadership throughout the Syrian-backed rebellion, even though they are highly critical of many aspects of his leadership.

Foremost among these were George Habash and Nalf Hawatme, the leaders of the two largest groups in the PLO after his own mainstream Fatah. It was their support, possibly more than any other factor, that thwarted Syria's efforts to effect a *putsch* against Arafat from within the PLO, and which, in the final analysis, saved his skin.

But while they were prepared to

support his leadership, they made it plain all along that they were in sympathy with many of the rebels' claims — including that of a more militant line against Israel — even if they were not prepared to endorse their recourse to internecine bloodletting to achieve their goals.

And they have made it equally plain that Arafat is going to have to go some way towards meeting those claims if he is to retain their support in the upcoming struggle.

Tuesday's blast could, quite conceivably, have been the first instalment of Arafat's debt repayment to Habash and Hawatme.

MATTI STEINBERG, a lecturer and researcher at the Hebrew University and one of Israel's leading authorities on the PLO, believes that the outrage was very probably the work of Arafat's PLO mainstream rather than his radical opponents; that it may, in fact, have been the opening shot in his struggle to rebuild his credibility.

He notes that several weeks ago, Said Kamal, one of the leading pragmatists in the PLO and a strong supporter of Arafat's diplomatic offensive against Israel, stated in an interview with the Saudi newspaper *al-Yom* that what the organization now needed was "a spectacular action inside Israel" — and he gave the reason why: "We need to prove

we exist."

Steinberg believes Tuesday's blast could well have been the kind of "spectacular action" Kamal had in mind, noting that responsibility for the explosion was first claimed by the Cyprus-based Palestinian news agency Wafa, which is totally under Arafat's control. This would appear to indicate that even if it were not in fact, the work of Arafat's mainstreamers, he is prepared to accept responsibility for it.

The fact that the action came on the very eve of Arafat's departure from Lebanon is also highly significant, Steinberg notes, as it would serve to pre-empt any claim by the rebels that he is now impotent to carry the "armed struggle" to Israel.

STEINBERG WARNS that there could be further such outrages in the months ahead as Arafat goes about reconstituting himself as the effective leader of a unified PLO.

But he stresses that this would by no means indicate that Arafat has abandoned the search for a political solution, probably in cooperation with Jordan, even if he is forced to soft-pedal this for the time being.

Arafat has never, in fact, seen any contradiction between armed struggle inside Israel and a diplomatic offensive. On the contrary, the two

have long been seen as complementary, part of a single strategy designed to achieve a single goal. Kamal, in the *al-Yom* interview quoted above, gave expression to the identical view. In addition, stressing the need for a "spectacular action inside Israel," he stressed the need for a PLO peace initiative based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338.

So, Steinberg concludes, any lack of take place inside Israel the months ahead could, somewhat paradoxically, indicate that Arafat is preparing the ground for renewed diplomatic offensives against Israel — and not that he is given in to the rebel demand for armed struggle in place of diplomacy.

Before he could embark upon such an offensive, he would have to prove to his rivals that he is not opting for diplomacy out of weakness because he has no alternative, but because he believes it is the most effective means of attaining Palestinian national goals. The true sign that Arafat has finally abandoned diplomatic Steinberg notes, would be his open sanction of terrorist actions against Israeli and Jewish targets abroad something, unlike actions inside Israel and the administered territories, he has long condemned counter-productive to his efforts to evolve a credible diplomatic posture.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post Middle East affairs reporter.

READERS' LETTERS

CYPRUS CAMPS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In February 1984, it will be 35 years that the refugee camps in Cyprus were closed. More than 50,000 illegal immigrants passed through these camps on their way to Eretz Yisrael.

A committee of former illegal immigrants and emissaries has decided to set up an organization to perpetuate this special episode as educational and informative material for all those who did not experience it personally, as we did.

We want to draw up a list of all those who participated in this episode in the history of aliya. In the name of the committee, I appeal to all those who passed through the Cyprus camps — immigrants, emissaries and representatives of the Yishuv institutions — to write to us, giving full particulars: name, date of arrival and departure from Cyprus, name of vessel, party affiliation, job, names of other immigrants in the Cyprus camps, and any further relevant data. Letters should be addressed to me, c/o "Cyprus," Tel Aviv Municipality.

ITZHAK ARTZI
(Formerly Herzog)
Tel Aviv.

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — It is difficult to understand why Professor Benjamin Akzin (November 30) alleges that, in my article "Apparent moderation" (November 23), I seemed to "accept and support" the thesis, which he ascribes to Dr. Susan Hattis Rofe, that "there is no essential difference between individual and non-selective mass terrorism."

No such view was expressed or implied in my article. Its subject was accurately defined in its title: to analyse statements made by Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, on TV and in private and press interviews, in order to reach a better understanding of the man who, as prime minister, has the power to make momentous decisions on behalf of all of us.

Although I do not intend, on this occasion, to discuss the subtle ethical distinctions between various varieties of terrorism, there is one flagrant omission in Professor Akzin's article which should not be passed over. In listing the groups whose purpose is "to weaken the regimes they oppose by...sowing panic among the general population" and for whom civilians are

FALSIFYING HISTORY

the "intended victims," he did not mention the Irgun Zva'i Leumi.

At least during the pre-war period, the Irgun perpetrated a number of deliberate attacks against Arab civilians, in which scores were killed and injured. In May to July 1939, for instance, there were indiscriminate IZL attacks at the Rex cinema in Jerusalem, the Arab village of Bir-Ades, and the Arab market in Haifa, as well as numerous attacks on Arab passers-by.

The execution by the British of Shlomo Ben-Yosef, who did not even fire a shot, was a judicial atrocity, and he faced death with exemplary fortitude. But what was the act for which he has been canonized by the "Jabotinsky school," with a street in his name and a stamp in his honour? His declared purpose was to kill Arab civilians, and thus to break the official Jewish Agency policy of *havaga*, self-restraint, which meant using weapons only against armed men, and not against civilians.

The danger is that the policy of

honouring the memory of all who fought for Israel's independence, with or without the official sanction of the pre-State "national institutions," may not only falsify history by giving the impression that there were three more or less equal "underground movements," but may appear to condone Jewish "counter-terrorist" attacks on Arab civilians — with results that we can see in recent events in Judea and Samaria.

MISHA LOUVISH

Jerusalem.

LATE TV

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I thank Marian Glucksman for her letter of November 24. I too am one of the many who would be glad if Mabat were advanced by at least one hour and — more important — who is deprived of the best and most interesting TV programmes since almost all of them are being transmitted in the late hours. Not everyone is in a position to acquire a video set.

LISA MICHAELIS

Jerusalem.

NEWS IN ENGLISH

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — With reference to Phil Gillion's article about the lack of news in English on Israel TV and the resultant correspondence on the subject in your columns, I would like to draw your attention to a coloured advertising cube which was produced by Bank Hapoal and placed at our initiative.

This cube carries the times which English and French news broadcast over Kol Yisrael and distributed in all the rooms of the five-star hotels which have receivers.

This is, of course, no solution to the lack of news in English on Israel TV, but it is a constructive step on our information campaign.

DAVID KOST
Information Department
Ministry of Tourism
Jerusalem.

PENFRIENDS

AJAY JUGRAN (18), of D-4 Hathibarskala Estate, Dehra D-248001, India, would like to be Israeli penfriends. His hobbies: palmistry, politics and philately.

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